Foreign Aid and the Public Will *John Osborne*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 5, 1968, 40 cents

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Wallace in Ohio—*Paul Wieck*

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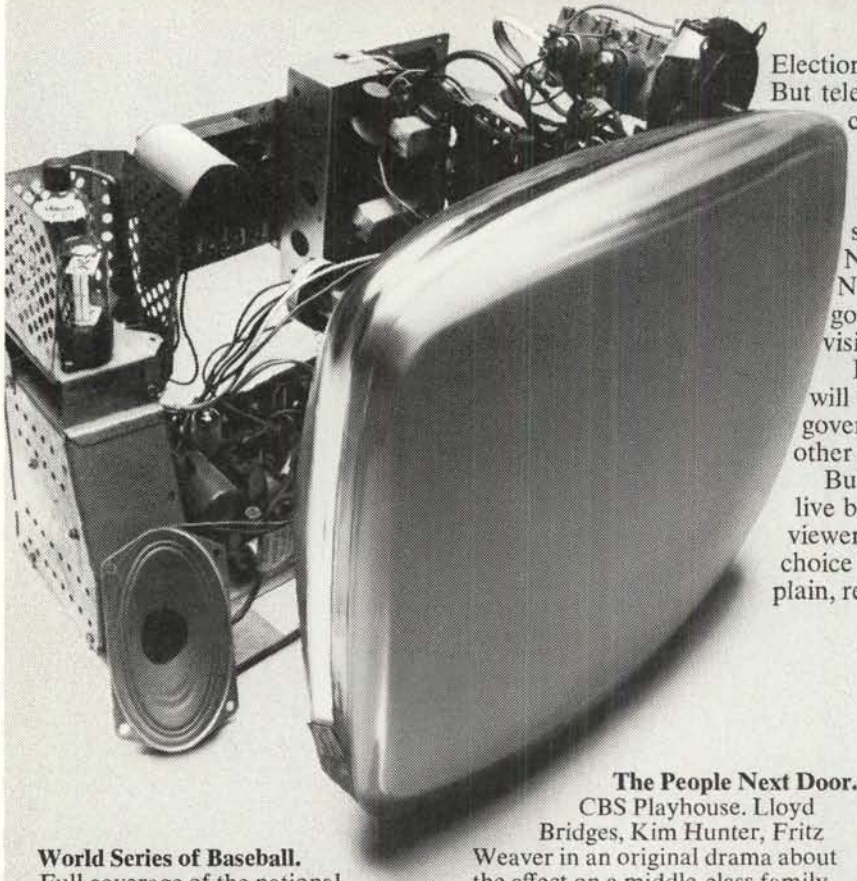

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Discovery. Discovery Goes to Israel; Discovery Goes to Thailand—The River People; The Stone Age Americans; An Iron Horse in Silver Pastures. Sundays, Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27 (11:30-12 Noon).

The 21st Century. The Incredible Voyage; Games Futurists Play; Surviving in Space. Sundays, Oct. 13, 20, 27 (6-6:30 pm).

Apollo Space Shot. Tentatively scheduled for Friday, Oct. 11.

How Life Begins. A documentary of the beauty, wonder and mystery of all beginnings of life. Monday, Oct. 14 (7:30-8:30 pm).

The People Next Door. CBS Playhouse. Lloyd Bridges, Kim Hunter, Fritz Weaver in an original drama about the effect on a middle-class family of discovery that the daughter is on drugs. Tuesday, Oct. 15 (9:30-11 pm).

The Fabulous Shorts. A salute to shorts and cartoons that won Academy Awards. Jim Backus narrates. Thursday, Oct. 17 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Campaign '68 Specials. Two reports on the election situation. Sundays, Oct. 20, 27 (6:30-7 pm).

Babar The Elephant. Peter Ustinov narrates this animated program drawn from Jean de Brunhoff's children's stories. Monday, Oct. 21 (7:30-8 pm).

Hemingway's Spain. The country and its people as seen through Hemingway's novels. Monday, Oct. 21 (9-10 pm).

America's Wonderlands—The National Parks. National Geographic Society's panoramic view of the parks and the millions who use them. Wednesday, Oct. 23 (7:30-8:30 pm).

Sophia! A chronicle of Sophia Loren's life and career. Wednesday, Oct. 23 (9-10 pm).

Johnny Carson Friars' Roast. Kraft Music Hall: Ed Sullivan, Steve Allen, other Friars kid Carson. Alan King, toastmaster. Wednesday, Oct. 23 (9-10 pm).

Bing Crosby Special. Bob Hope joins Bing Crosby in this music-comedy special. Wednesday, Oct. 23 (10-11 pm).

It's The Great Pumpkin, Charlie Brown. Charles Schulz's "Peanuts" characters at Halloween. Thursday, Oct. 24 (7:30-8 pm).

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday through Friday: The Today Show/Captain Kangaroo/Sunrise Semester

Tuesdays: CBS News Hour ("60 Minutes"/CBS Reports/Who, What, When, Where, Why, With Harry Reasoner)

Saturdays: The Banana Splits Adventure Hour/ABC's Wide World of Sports/Campaign and the Candidates/G-E College Bowl/Frank McGee Saturday Report

Sundays: Lamp Unto My Feet/Look Up and Live/Bullwinkle/Camera Three/Face the Nation/Meet the Press/Discovery/Catholic Hour/Issues and Answers/Race to the White House/The 21st Century/Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color

Note: This is, necessarily, a partial listing. Time (NYT), titles and casts of these national programs are subject to change. Please consult your station listings; check also for noteworthy local programs.

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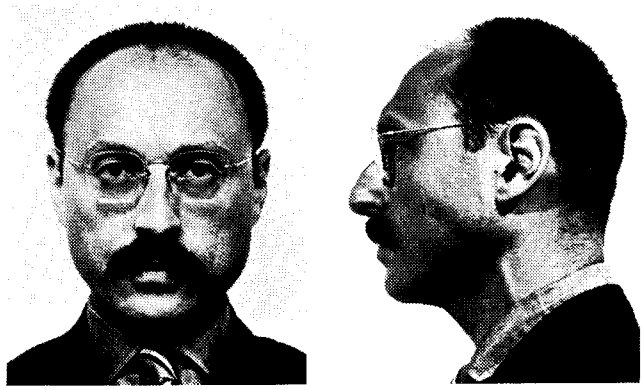

WANTED

Pictured above is Ralph Ginzburg, publisher of the most notorious and wanted magazines of the 20th Century.

First he launched the quarterly **Eros**, a magazine dedicated to the joys of love and sex. **Eros** was an instantaneous *succès de scandale* and over a quarter of a million people ordered subscriptions, despite the fact that they cost $25. But the U.S. Post Office declared **Eros** "obscene" and drove it out of business (and, incidentally, obtained for Ginzburg a five-year prison sentence, which has since been appealed).

Then he brought out the crusading bimonthly **Fact**, which was the first major American magazine to inveigh against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, cigarette advertising in the mass media, and Detroit's ruthless disregard for car safety (Ralph Nader was a **Fact** discovery). The intellectual community was galvanized by **Fact** and bought –devoured!–over half a million copies, despite the fact that **Fact** was not available at most newsstands (most newsdealers found it too controversial) and it was priced at a steep $1.25. But certain Very Important Persons got mad at **Fact** –including Barry Goldwater, who sued the magazine for $2 million –and it, too, was driven out of business.

Undaunted, Ginzburg rallied his forces and last year launched still a third magazine, **Avant-Garde**, which he describes as "a pyrotechnic, futuristic bimonthly of intellectual pleasure." This magazine, he predicted, "will be my wildest yet, and most universally wanted."

From all indications, Ginzburg's prediction is proving correct. Although still in its infancy, **Avant-Garde** already enjoys a readership of over one million, while its growth rate is one of the phenomena of modern publishing. Newsdealers report deliveries of copies sold out within a matter of minutes. Dentists report that **Avant-Garde** is the magazine in their waiting rooms most frequently purloined. And librarians order duplicate–and even triplicate–subscriptions in order to provide replacements for worn-out copies (and perhaps to obtain fresh copies for their own personal delectation). Everywhere, citizens who are normally upright, respectable, and law-abiding are being tempted to beg, borrow, or steal copies of **Avant-Garde**, the most spellbinding and desperately sought-after magazine in America today.

What makes **Avant-Garde** such a tutti-frutti frappe of a magazine? Why is it in such insane demand? How does it differ from other magazines? The answer is threefold:

First, **Avant-Garde** is such rollicking great fun. Each issue really socks it to you with uproarious satire, irreverent interviews, madcap cartoons, cherry-bomb editorials, deliberately biased reportage, demoniacal criticism, x-ray profiles, supernova fiction, and outrageous ribaldry. From cover to cover, **Avant-Garde** is a careening joy ride of intellectual pleasure.

Second, **Avant-Garde** stones readers with its mind-blowing beauty. It brings to the printed page a transcendental new kind of high. This is achieved through a combination of pioneering printing methods and the genius of Herb Lubalin, who is **Avant-Garde**'s art director (and, incidentally, America's foremost graphic designer). In just the first few months of its existence, **Avant-Garde** has won more awards for design excellence than any other magazine in the world.

Third, **Avant-Garde** captivates readers with articles that have something to *say*. They're more than just filler between advertisements, as in most other magazines. Perhaps the best way to prove this is to list for you the kinds of articles **Avant-Garde** prints:

Will the Vote for 18-Year-Olds Move America to the Left?

An Evening with New York's Scandalous Orgy-and-Mystery Theater

The Secret Plans of Leading Tobacco Companies to Market Marijuana–If, as, and when pot prohibition is lifted.

Yevtushenko's Epic in Defense of Dr. Spock

The Love Poetry of Eugene McCarthy

Living High on "The Hog Farm"–A visit to America's most successful hippie *kibbutz*.

Pre-Mortem–At **Avant-Garde**'s invitation, 28 celebrities (including Art Buchwald, Harry Golden, Woody Allen, and Gore Vidal) dictate their own obituaries.

"In Gold We Trust"–A satire on America's changing spiritual values, by Dan ("How to Be a Jewish Mother") Greenburg.

London's "Theatre of Eros"

My Son, the Revolutionary–A study of family backgrounds of young American radicals.

Harlem's Beautiful New African Boutiques

Coming Attraction–"Sex is the closest I can come to explaining the way I sing," says San Francisco rock songstress Janis Joplin.

Has LBJ Secretly Converted to Catholicism?

Live Wires–A report on the three supercharged wire services that supply news to the nation's 200 underground newspapers.

R. Buckminster Fuller's Plan for a Floating City in Tokyo Bay

Fractured Hip–Hilarious malapropisms by squares attempting to sound ultra-cool.

The Pedernales River Baptism-a-thon: A Fugs Happening

Making a Scene–Stills from Andy Warhol's film *Romeo and Juliet* in which superstar Viva falls victim to an unplanned gang-rape.

Phil Ochs: Kipling of the New Left

Abreast of the Times–A report on the sudden return to breast-feeding by America's most sophisticated and sexually liberated women.

Allen Ginsberg's Script for a New Film by Charlie Chaplin

Coitus Non Interruptus: The Erotic Tomb Sculptures of Madagascar

Bob Dylan's Suppressed Novel "Tarantula"

The Startling Increase in LBJ's Personal Wealth While in the White House

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In sum, **Avant-Garde** is a hip, joyous feast of gourmet food-for-thought. It's the quintessence of intellectual sophistication.

Small wonder, then, that critics everywhere have spent themselves in a veritable orgy of praise over **Avant-Garde**: "Reality freaks, unite! Weird buffs, rejoice! **Avant-Garde** has arrived bearing mind-treasures of major proportions," says the San Francisco Chronicle. "**Avant-Garde** is aimed at readers of superior intelligence and cultivated taste who are interested in the arts, politics, science–and sex," says The New York Times. "An exotic literary menu....A wild new thing on the New York scene," says Encounter. "Ralph Ginzburg deserves considerable credit for having risked printing this," says Life. "**Avant-Garde**'s articles on cinema, rock, and the New Scene are a stoned groove," says the New York East Village Other. "**Avant-Garde** is the sawn-off shotgun of American critical writing," says the New Statesman. "Its graphics are stylish," says Time. "Borders on the genius," says the Miami Beach Sun. "**Avant-Garde** is MAGAZINE POWER!" says poet Peter Schjeldahl. "Wow! What a ferris wheel! I was high for a week after reading it," says the pop critic of Cavalier.

Avant-Garde's contributors include the most brilliant artists, writers, and photographers of our time. Not only does **Avant-Garde** feature works by such acknowledged masters as Picasso, Arthur Miller, Norman Mailer, Kenneth Tynan, Karl Menninger, John Updike, Allen Ginsberg, Roald Dahl, Henry Miller, Bert Stern, William Styron, Eliot Elisofon, Kenneth Rexroth, David Levine, Richard Avedon, Leonard Baskin, Dali, Genet, Beckett, Sartre, Burroughs, Yevtushenko, Warhol, *et al.*, but, perhaps more important, it hunts down the wild cats who will be the literary lions of tomorrow.

In format, **Avant-Garde** more closely resembles a $10 art folio than a magazine. It is printed on the finest antique and coated paper stocks by time-consuming sheet-fed gravure and costly duotone offset lithography. It is bound in 12-point Frankote boards for permanent preservation. The format of **Avant-Garde**, like its editorial contents, is intended to endure.

Subscriptions to **Avant-Garde** cost $10 per year. This is not cheap. **However, right now, while Avant-Garde is still in its infancy, you may order a Special Introductory 8-Month Subscription for only $3.99!! This is a MERE FRACTION of the standard price.**

Moreover, if you enter your subscription right now, you'll be a Charter Subscriber. This will entitle you to:

- Buy gift subscriptions for only $3.99.
- Renew your subscription for $3.99 *forever*, despite any subsequent price increases.
- Start your subscription with one of **Avant-Garde**'s early issues. *This is not to be taken lightly since early issues of high-quality magazines often become valuable collectors' items* (especially if they're Ralph Ginzburg publications; early issues of **Eros** now sell for $100; early copies of **Fact** are worth $25; and copies of **Avant-Garde** published just a few months ago are already bringing $15).

To enter your subscription, simply fill out the coupon below and mail it with $3.99 to: **Avant-Garde**, 110 West 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018.

But please hurry. This Special Introductory Offer may be withdrawn without notice.

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T.R.B. from Washington

Look What We've Got

★ More than 7,000 actual and potential threats against the President are received every month. The "trip file" of those who need to be watched when Mr. Johnson travels has upwards of 1,800 names (compared with 400 before John F. Kennedy was assassinated). There are more than 250,000 persons and organizations in a larger file of those considered dangerous.

Well, it's a violent age; in five years a President, a senator and a civil rights leader have been murdered – even Ev Dirksen has been threatened. Estimates of the number of guns in private hands range up to 200 million and the National Rifle Association has blocked a proposal to register them and license their owners. Dogs, cats, and cars are licensed, not lethal weapons.

Meanwhile, the President grows more and more important in the scheme of things. He has to try to negotiate a freeze on nuclear missiles with the Russians, get us out of an Asian land war, realistically define America's role in the world if another one is to be prevented, cope with riots and malaise at home, come to grips with the problem of inequitable distribution of income (Bobby Kennedy was trying to; it was one of the things that made him hated), encourage reform of the archaic institutions that are under attack by impatient youth.

And in the face of this, Nixon offers us Spiro Agnew as the man a heartbeat away from the Presidency. It's not a joke any more; Kennedy wanted Texas' big bloc of electoral votes in 1960, so he chose Lyndon Johnson. Kennedy was ignorant about Texas politics, didn't know Johnson's string had run out in his home state. Johnson knew it; we think that's why he accepted second place on the ticket.

Five years of Johnson, a Vice President who became President. You know the rest. Two wise men, Walter Lippmann and Arthur Krock (of the *NY Times*) agree that the Johnson Administration has been a failure; Lippmann calls its mistakes disastrous.

We take Nixon at his word (naïve as that may sound) when he says if elected he will be an activist President. He will do a lot of traveling, will let the voters – and the lunatics – see him. We remember asking Lester Pearson when he was running against Diefenbaker why he had no guards. "When Canada has 200 million people," he replied, "we'll have as many nuts as you have; then I'll need protection."

Not Recommended for Adults

★ A few weeks ago we pointed out Agnew's lack of national experience and the fact that he was elected in Maryland (not a bastion of enlightenment anyway) chiefly because the Democrats put up a blatherskite. Since then, more grave questions about his fitness have arisen. At a press conference in Chicago, Agnew referred to citizens of Polish descent as "Polacks," then said he did not know that was an opprobrium. More recently, seeing a Japanese-American reporter dozing on his plane, he inquired, "What's the matter with the fat Jap?"

Unintentional? Maybe. But what do such remarks say about Agnew's political savvy? Enough brains to be President? We'd like to dismiss the slurs as insignificant, were it not for Lee Harvey Oswald. These days, you have to consider both men on the ticket; it's a depressing but inescapable responsibility.

Agnew's casual imputation of inferiority to ethnic groups probably will give secret pleasure to some people, but his candidacy is not recommended for adults. Humphrey offers a much better running mate in serious-minded Ed Muskie.

We don't think it is stretching the point to say that Agnew, like Dick Daley and Lyndon Johnson on the Democratic side, exemplifies the old politics that the young people are so incensed about: the political Podsnaps with their irrelevant rhetoric, fundamentally satisfied with themselves and with things the way they are. The younger generation is attacking this menopausal leadership in many of our institutions – the political and social establishments, the colleges, the Church. A very healthy thing; Thomas Jefferson would be pleased.

Plenty of Money

★ Consumers are still on a buying spree. The 10 percent tax surcharge hasn't yet dampened that rugged spirit of acquisitiveness. The surtax extracted $2.2 billion from paychecks and profits in the third quarter of this year, but retail sales jumped $779 million in July, $88 million in August.

Where are they getting the money? From savings, apparently. Since mid-1967, Americans have been putting more than 7 percent of their disposable income into savings, but the Administration expects this to drop to about 6.2 percent in the third quarter and the Bank of America estimates an even bigger drop – to 5.8 percent. So the fastbacks and color TV's are coming out of savings, and to heck with the tax increase, at least for the time being.

Meanwhile, the June and July consumer price index rose at an annual rate of 6 percent, truly inflationary. Figures are boring, but not for Presidents. It will be one of the new man's first big headaches – he will have to decide whether an overheated economy requires another year of surtax.

We keep hoping Nixon learned something from Ike's chamber-of-horrors fiscal policy (two recessions in three years, the largest peacetime deficit in history) and won't go all the way back to GOP fiscal orthodoxy. It may be wishful thinking.

★ *Note:* We guess the nomination of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice will be defeated by a Senate filibuster. But we wonder what the Republicans and Dixiecrats will have gained by their exercise in obstructionism? Chief Justice Warren – their long-time target – will remain on the Court; so probably will Fortas. The Court's majority will go on defending the constitutional rights of individuals.

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Up, Up, Up

Things are going fairly well for Richard Nixon the candidate, but time has almost run out for Nixon the economic forecaster. Two years ago, Nixon boldly predicted: "At the present rate, a Johnson recession could well be the major issue of 1968." Not yet. How about 1969? For once, the pundits seem agreed to be fairly optimistic. At National Industrial Conference Board panel discussions in New York in mid-September, there was near unanimity that a recession next year is unlikely. Despite a previous scare or two, there are now few signs that business spending is going to start slowing down. On the contrary, the indications are that the trend will continue upward. There are, however, a few posts spelling out warnings.

Business seems prepared to continue putting its stakes on further expansion but, in fact, manufacturing industries are not operating even close to capacity. And tax- and price-hit consumers may be maintaining their purchasing of automobiles and other things as much out of despair as from euphoria. They could be operating on the well-grounded theory that what you pass up today will cost you a good bit more tomorrow. Indeed, Mr. Johnson was moved last month to attack Detroit's latest car price hike as "an onerous and unfair burden on the consumer." The prices of things that people directly buy are now rising at an annual rate of six percent. People are saving less and going deeper into debt. Consumer instalment debt has risen well above $100 billion. It rose $3.3 billion last year, will have gone up again by an estimated $7.3 billion this year, and is forecast to climb by another $8.5 billion in 1969. As is the case with prices and with business spending, the debt trend is ever upward, but an accelerating rise in consumer debt isn't exactly the healthiest of symptoms. Next year, too, the federal government will be taking much more out of the economy than it will put into it, in the first quarter; and next June's target is a budget deficit of only $5-billion in place of over $25 billion – a tremendous sweep of the pendulum. Even Nixon agrees with the principle that an economy in balance is more important than a balanced budget; nevertheless he professed utmost eagerness to see this year's budget cut down not by $6 billion as demanded by Congress, but by $8 billion. Nixon's economic advisers are predicting that by mid-1969, unemployment will have risen to five percent, from the present level of 3.5 percent. Nixon has indicated that if there's a real threat of recession next year, when he hopes to be in the White House and therefore bearing

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the responsibility, he'll consider dropping the 10 percent surtax that the Johnson Administration imposed to help pay for Vietnam. Humphrey has adopted roughly the same attitude towards the tax surcharge; if by next summer inflation is still pushing up prices, Humphrey might extend the surtax, but if it appears that the economy can't stand it, he would let the surcharge go. What neither Nixon nor Humphrey has clarified as yet, is what will be done if the unemployment rate rises but a stickily monopolistic economy, big business and big labor, keep prices rising also.

Consumers are currently getting it in the neck from other quarters besides Detroit. For instance, figures show that people are spending more on food, but without any indication that they are eating more, or better. By December, the federal government will have paid out to farmers about $12 billion over seven years, to induce them not to produce so much wheat and food grains. So guess what: This year's wheat crop is the highest on record, and the corn crop is as big as last year's, which was also a record. Yet prices to the consumer stay up. Chiding Congress for extending the expensive crop reduction programs in those circumstances, the September newsletter of the First National City Bank of New York wondered at the irony of it all, with people burdened with the 10 percent income tax surcharge, and the Congress calling for a $6 billion cut in federal spending to cool off the economy. The crop reduction programs cost about $3 billion a year, and they mostly benefit the big farms that are efficient and don't need aid rather than small farmers who do. That is why Senator Ribicoff derides farm subsidies as a "monstrously expensive irrelevancy."

Nixon and Humphrey have said little, and that little ambiguously, about what economic panaceas they will apply if elected. It is a reasonable if dismaying assumption that neither will attempt seriously to dismantle the really wasteful boondoggles. They may even add to them. Nixon's apparent susceptibility to the blandishments of protectionists, specifically the chemical, steel and textile industries worries businessmen who fear the consequences of American tariffs and quotas on this country's exports, but whose position in the argument has been weakened by the import upsurge that has cancelled out the United States' customary trade surplus. Where does Humphrey stand on the issue? Mr. Johnson stood out firmly against the protectionists, but Humphrey seems to have picked on this particular item to demonstrate he is his own man and, of course, to bid level with Nixon. Humphrey has hinted that if elected he will consider sympathetically the claims of both steel and textiles to more protection from competing imports. That suggests higher prices for Americans to pay in 1969, no matter who's in the White House.

New Thrill for Motorists

The "truck-train" bill pending before Congress should do little to settle the nerves of thousands of motorists who have been nearly blown off the curvaceous Pennsylvania Turnpike by passing trucks. The bill would permit states to increase weight and width limitations on trucks and would ultimately result in 100,000-pound, triple-trailer freight carriers. Until now the bill was rolling smoothly through Congress (the Senate passed it with seven members on the floor, and House Public Works reported it out in 40 minutes). Last week, however, both Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon said publicly they oppose the bill (Humphrey charged "Nixon has planted his feet firmly on both sides of the street."), and House members are beginning to shy away from a measure that is opposed by the AAA, the American Association of State Highway Officials, and the US Conference of Mayors.

Although the truckers are quick to point out that the increases are limited to the four-lane interstate system, it is unlikely that trucks could avoid using state highways, 88 percent of which have only two lanes. Driving around and between trucks eight-and-a-half feet wide and 100 feet long at over 70 miles an hour should add new thrills to the asphalt speedways. The AASHO testified before the House committee that since two-thirds of the interstate system has already been completed at lower weight specifications, we could expect the highways to start falling apart 20 to 40 percent earlier because of the heavier loads. They estimate that resurfacing these roads could cost as much as $2 billion every 10 years. Bridges would also suffer. According to Bureau of Public Roads Director Francis C. Turner, the increased weights would overstress interstate bridges by 32 to 36 percent. The bridges cannot be redesigned and state highway officials admit that the margin of safety is unmeasurable and unpredictable.

Despite the added costs, the truckers would not have to face increased excise taxes. "The industry is simply not paying its share of the costs," says one AASHO official. While increasing truck tonnage, the bill does not include commensurate safety standards. The Department of Transportation suggested amending the bill to permit development of minimum safety standards for braking and coupling systems, but the House committee decided they weren't necessary.

Competing with trains for lucrative freight revenue and faced with spiraling wages, the trucking industry is determined to obtain the legislation and is acting as if passage were a foregone conclusion. Western Gillette has operated 100-foot trucks for the past four years. An advertisement for Pullman Inc., in a recent issue of *Dun's Review* admitted that although it's

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illegal in over 40 states, they were already preparing for the day of the triple-trailer. Nor does the industry intend to let Congress quietly drop a bill which has elicited opposition from everyone but the truckers. A full-page ad in Washington's *Evening Star*, besides claiming that the AAA's "scurrilous attacks . . . have placed in jeopardy the political careers of some of the finest men in Congress," pleaded with Congress to consider the bill "in the name of decency" rather than let the truth be "suffocated by the stench of yellow journalism and yellow advertising." Should skittish congressmen bend to such exhortation, they will in effect be asking eight million motorists to finance the multi-billion dollar construction and maintenance necessary to accommodate 300,000 trucks.

Beyond Salazar

A fall from a chair which caused a brain contusion was bringing an end last week to Antonio Olivera Salazar's 79 years of life and 36 years of dictatorial rule over 10 million Portuguese and 13 million inhabitants of nearly a million square miles of Africa. Salazar's nearly four decades have given Portugal a kind of order (the country had 20 revolutions between 1912 and 1928), and a per capita income equal to the Ivory Coast's, half of Spain's. Forty-four percent of the population remains illiterate. Salazar's successor as premier is the cold and efficient professor of constitutional law, 62-year-old Marcello Caetano.

About 45 percent of Portugal's budget is spent in defending and developing its possessions in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. Naturally the army, the navy and those business groups that have invested there want to hold onto them. Whether troops are withdrawn from Africa or not, the leaders of the 300,000 Europeans in Angola are threatening to carry out their semi-public plan to declare themselves independent and invite African participation in the government of a new republic.

Another possibility is that a conservative successor regime in Lisbon under Professor Caetano would institute some constitutional reforms in Africa, as Portugal's NATO allies have been advising. Even a hard-line decision to hold onto Angola and Mozambique at any cost could lead to a withdrawal of the 35,000 Portuguese soldiers now fighting in Portuguese Guinea, thus freeing that economically worthless colony in order to concentrate on the defense of the two richer countries. There are an admitted 60,000 Portuguese troops in Mozambique and a similar number in Angola; but consular reports estimate there are really 100,000 soldiers and airmen in each territory. In tiny Portuguese Guinea, with 600,000 population and a per capita of $10, Portugal is thought to have a whopping 35,000 men – and admits to 25,000.

It is principally in Africa that Salazar's departure is expected to have a marked effect. Multiracial solutions in Angola and Mozambique would leave Rhodesia exposed and vulnerable, and force South Africa to quicken the pace of its bid to adapt to independent black neighbors. But a multiracial solution in Portuguese Africa would remove the threat of South African armed intervention there.

In Mozambique, US-educated resistance leader, Edwardo Mondlane, using sanctuary bases in Tanzania and Soviet arms, is pushing down from the north. He might be open to offers of a multiracial settlement, if the Mozambique whites follow white Angolans into secession from Lisbon.

In Angola, moderate anti-communist leader, Holden Roberto, the pioneer of this sort of warfare in Africa, continues his seven-year campaign from sanctuary in the Congo, using arms supplied by General Mobutu, who gets most of them from Western sources. Even more than Mondlane, Roberto would be sensitive to a pragmatic deal with moderate whites. Some African states and the communist powers would oppose any compromise between nationalists and settlers, but Mozambiquans and Angolans themselves would probably settle for gradualism: they are conscious that, for language reasons, they are dependent for technical assistance on Brazil or Portugal itself. Fortunately, the attitudes of the dissident settler element in Angola are markedly more liberal than equivalent middle-class opinion in Portugal.

A Che-type Marxist guerrilla movement exists in Angola's south, led by Mario de Andrade, a former cat's-paw of Nkrumah. But if a timetable leading to one man, one vote was guaranteed, Roberto would probably cooperate with liberal white administrators in snuffing out Andrade's movement.

In Guinea, nationalist leader Amilcar Cabral already occupies over half the territory. Former Governor General Arnaldo Schulz, replaced this year, has recommended Portuguese withdrawal.

All three main African leaders are waiting anxiously with highly cautious optimism to see if the Angolan whites will declare Angola independent. This in turn depends on the level of support or acquiescence the settlers get from the metropolitan soldiers in their country, particularly senior officers. These in turn are influenced by the attitude of the navy, which does not share the ambition of many army officers to settle in Angola and give up the flyblown motherland. Any Lisbon decision to recall troops to quell risings in Portugal would facilitate secession and make a compromise with the Africans more urgent for the settlers.

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Columbia Sweats It Out

Just about everyone on Morningside Heights these days has a favorite metaphor or analogy to describe the condition of Columbia University as it tries to begin its 215th academic year. Many of the metaphors have a military flavor, initially prompted by the call of the local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society for a "fall offensive." Analysts at the Sundial in the center of the campus talk of the impending end of the "Tet" truce, the war of attrition, or even of de-escalation and peace talks. The university administration and trustees are seen as engaged in a massive counterinsurgency strategy. First, they announced in August a change in government with the early retirement of Grayson Kirk and the accession as acting president of Andrew W. Cordier, former UN and State Department diplomat. Dissatisfaction of the local provincial chiefs (senior faculty) is countered by increased consultation and proposals for meaningful participation in the government. The people (students) are approached through a pacification program (the first written rules on demonstrations, protests, rallies) and a limited repatriation program (city courts are asked to be lenient towards 400 of 554 students arrested during last spring's rebellion and suspensions are changed to censures in the cases of 42 of 73 students).

Other observers draw religious parallels. The curia in Low Library has brought in its Pope John, Acting President Cordier, who talks of "warm relationships" and the changing of structures and old beliefs. But, they add, the danger is that John's winds of change will blow much harder than the curia intended and when his term ends, he will be succeeded by a Paul who could reverse the "*aggiornamento*."

The fact is no one quite knows what is going to happen at Columbia this academic year, and no one will be very much surprised by whatever does happen, whether a new wave of escalating conflict or an uneasy calm and de facto peace.

Following the summer lull in hostilities, both the administration and the student activists can agree that the vast majority of the campus population must be politicized anew. The administration side would seem to have the better of it at this point. A large number of students, who tacitly or directly supported and sympathized with the student strike, following the two police raids last spring, now want to get back to classes. They are willing to believe that the revolution is bringing reform and increasing democratization of the university.

The moderate middle sees progress in the replacement of Kirk, in the limited amnesty policy, in the staff report of the Executive Committee of the Faculty that recommends a university senate with 10 students out of 92 members and in the new rules of the Joint Committee on Disciplinary Affairs, accepted by the senior faculty, that permit indoor demonstrations. These moderates also tend to view SDS as an inbred, isolated group primarily concerned with bringing about a revolution in society as a whole, while using the campus as a training ground.

Radical students make light of the university's concessions, which they dismiss as attempts to delude, divide and conquer the student constituency. Furthermore, Acting President Cordier, whom they recognize as a more formidable opponent, has been chosen by the establishment to bring "law and order" to the campus as he did in the Congo in 1960 as a special representative to the late Dag Hammerskjold. To SDS in particular, the issues remain the same: total amnesty for students arrested last spring, a permanent end to construction of the community-university gym in Morningside Park and to university expansion in the neighborhood, and the termination of all university defense-related contracts.

A meeting of the senior faculty on Sept. 12 rejected complete amnesty 260 to 140, with nearly 400 abstentions. Then the tenured faculty accepted a recommendation of the joint discipline committee – already approved and announced by the trustees – urging city courts to dismiss charges against 400 students arrested only once for trespass. Going a step further, the faculty voted for extending leniency to some of the remaining 154 student offenders by dropping charges against those with multiple trespass arrests and students charged with resisting arrest.

When the trials begin this month, the Columbia community will find out whether District Attorney Frank Hogan, a trustee who has not participated in trustee deliberations relating to the arrests, will respond to the leniency plea of his fellow board members. Students will also be able to follow the court proceedings against some of the more celebrated of rebellion leaders and SDS will be ready to capitalize on student reactions.

Meanwhile, SDS continues low level probing actions like attempts to enter the senior faculty meeting and force registration of suspended students. Acting President Cordier, with diplomatic finesse, backs off from a confrontation, apparently waiting for the proper time to invoke the new structure of university rules and procedures and to see whether the university has reestablished its legitimacy and authority in the eyes of the majority of the Columbia community.

JOHN MATHEWS

MR. MATHEWS *writes on education for the* Washington Evening Star.

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What's To Be Done?
Start Building Now

As McCarthy and Kennedy bumper strips fade, the question for the thousands from New Hampshire to California who comprised "the movement" is what happens now and in the foreseeable future?

The most amazing political phenomenon of 1968 – besides the movement itself – is that the McCarthy and Kennedy supporters are willing to fight another day in the established party arena.

There are several reasons for this pertinacity. First, the goals of the struggle have become more diverse and are therefore more attractive to sustained effort. Although the Vietnam war remains the cruelest barrier to a moral and progressive America, what began as a political effort to end that war has branched into a three-pronged attack: 1) to create a rational foreign policy with peace in Vietnam as the first objective; 2) to rework national priorities so that racism, poverty and degradation can be lifted from the poor of all races; and 3) the newest element, to reform the political process within the Democratic Party so that by 1972 the majority will can prevail.

The small victories, the taste of success, the near-miss of it all, have whetted the political appetites of the once near-hopeless. In Chicago, the unit rule was killed at all levels. Most of the reforms for 1972 were passed. There was no sellout. The deaths of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, the unreasoning opposition to Eugene McCarthy and the peace plank, the duplicity of Southern delegations, and the final brutality of Chicago hardened the shock troops of liberal democracy in a way in which walking precincts never could have done. As McCarthy, almost boastfully, said: "This campaign has set America free" – and it was true.

In gauging the future course, there is one assumption that must be made: Hubert H. Humphrey is going to be defeated by Richard M. Nixon. This is not a matter of desire, but reality. The five polls issued since the convention indicate Humphrey will be lucky to run ahead of Wallace in electoral votes.

Only by striking the fetters of Lyndon Johnson, calling for a bombing halt, speaking in modern terms on civil rights and proving that he is a free American, can the Vice President redeem the party and himself and win. Those who fly into the arms of their phantom lover, Humphrey, are relinquishing whatever bargaining powers they might have to change him.

Gothic horror tales about Nixon, lectures about party unity (while cutting off funds for Ohio's John Gilligan and leaving Wayne Morse out to dry), and LBJ's negation of a bombing halt, are not going to attract McCarthy-Kennedy-McGovern troops. Nor are charges that the liberals will be blamed for party disloyalty and Humphrey's defeat. This crisis was created by those in Chicago who turned their backs on a probable winner (or winners, if one includes Edward Kennedy and George McGovern).

Today, the liberals must put their talents into the key races which face the Democrats in some 30 states. This is essential to secure the base from which a more progressive policy and party can be built. With Nixon in the White House, it is vital to hold the Senate for the Democrats, as well as the House if possible.

The resources comprising "the movement" are formidable: a hardened band of political "semi-pros"; a new group – many recruited from peace activities – who got their baptism of fire this year; the students who will be back in 1970 and 1972 if they find something "relevant" to do; the most highly political of the Blacks and Browns; an embattled group of Southern whites struggling to make the Democratic Party not just a front for Wallaceites; progressive labor, restless under Meany's leadership; those intellectuals who have not given up, and a coterie of liberal officeholders. McCarthy undoubtedly will remain the spiritual leader for much of the work ahead. But how candidates sort out by 1972 must be left to the future.

Organizationally, the next steps must be taken locally within the several states. Last December, the National Conference of Concerned Democrats served a useful purpose, showing to hundreds that they were not alone and starting them along a somewhat uncertain trail. However, until state organizations are strengthened, further national conferences are just exercises in nostalgia.

The tested format for permanent Democratic volunteer organization is the club structure. The primary example is the 15-year-old California Democratic Council (CDC) which "survived victory" in 1958 and 1960, championed the Freedom Democratic Party in 1964, opposed the Vietnam war in 1965, and organized a campaign for a peace delegation in 1967 before McCarthy announced. In New York, the Committee for Democratic Volunteers (the Reform Democrats) has provided leadership, but is limited to New York City and environs. The New Mexico Democratic Council was formed a few years ago on the CDC pattern and the Washington Democratic Council held its first convention on September 7. Embryonic council efforts also exist in New Jersey, Connecticut, Florida, Oregon and Iowa.

Essentially, the Democratic council system is a statewide organization of Democratic clubs which endorses in primaries, takes positions on issues, holds

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state conventions and operates year-round. They are not ad hoc or single-issue and work with the official party where possible.

The official party structures are now in progressive hands due to the primaries in Wisconsin, New Hampshire, and to a degree, Oregon. In California, the legislative leadership represented by Speaker Jesse Unruh, much of the official party and the volunteer leadership are cooperating. In New York and other states, the possibilities of a new, vital coalition are open.

State volunteer organizations directed by those familiar with the local scene, can create an inclusive operation in which McCarthy and Kennedy workers, minority and labor people, intellectuals, officeholders friendly to modernization of the party, and liberal Humphrey supporters can work together. If Nixon becomes President, this inclusion will be imperative.

By early 1969, a National Democratic Council can be created by the leadership from those states which have formed councils, together with those anxious to emulate the pattern. Such a National Council can develop issue positions for the party out of power or influence the party in power) and administer growing local, regional and national efforts to reform the party. Already a western council alliance is being discussed. Capture of precinct organizations and county conventions is the next goal in those states where this avenue is available. By 1970, a large volunteer organization can be operating in all sections of the country.

A special national Democratic Convention should be called for 1970 to bring the platform up to date, set the ground rules for integration and fair representation in state organizations and delegations, and tackle the restructuring of the national party.

If the National Committee will not call such a convention, then it should be convened by the council and cooperating officeholders. This "party in exile" may constitute the real Democratic Party. On the crest of this drive, the presidential nomination for 1972 can most surely go to a progressive reformer.

In summary, the steps urged are: 1) concentrate on key local races; 2) develop permanent state volunteer organizations; 3) establish a national council for liberalizing the party; 4) prepare organization and candidates for 1970; 5) develop alliances with progressive forces among minorities, youth and labor; 6) call for a 1970 national Democratic Convention – official or unofficial – to modernize the party; and 7) virtually guarantee that the next Democratic candidate will be a progressive liberal. GERALD N. HILL

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Wallace in Ohio – Who Will Get Hurt?

Columbus

George C. Wallace has hurled a wrench into the two-party machinery of the industrial belt running from the Pennsylvania coal fields through the Midwest. All he has done is introduce his version of Southern politics – the one-man show which reduced Alabama politics to chaos in six years – up north. You can hear it clanging its way through the machinery. It will get noisier before November 5.

A one-man show doesn't allow for a supporting cast. Thus, Wallace's American Independent Party (AIP) doesn't have candidates for the US Senate or House in the major industrial states. The result: in state after state, people say the "Wallace vote" could decide a given contest. What, for instance, will the union member who votes for Wallace do in the congressional races? His decision could be decisive in the senatorial contest between ex-Rep. John J. Gilligan and Attorney General William B. Saxbe in Ohio. It could decide the fate of Sen. Birch Bayh (D) of Indiana and Sen. Joe Clark (D) of Pennsylvania.

It is already affecting the strategy of candidates. They are asking themselves what happens if the voters don't go beyond Wallace, leaving the rest of the ballot blank. Who gets hurt then? There is no accurate way to measure the Wallace vote here (it isn't even certain his name will be on the ballot since the Supreme Court won't decide until Oct. 7, but he is expected to win his case). Still, all the visible and audible signs are scary. Take two recent polls. The *Cincinnati Inquirer* printed a ballot and invited its readers to respond. Wallace received 50.3 percent. A similar "call in" poll in Cleveland gave Wallace 46.9 percent. Vice President Humphrey ran a miserably poor third in both. One can say such polls are a measure of the enthusiasm of backers of each of the candidates, rather than an accurate gauge of what will happen on election day. But the rationalization is chilling.

New white registration is heavy. Often, white residents showing up for the first time say they're doing it to vote for Wallace; many of them have lived in the community for years without voting. A lot of new names on the registration lists come from communities along the Appalachian stream that runs from Cincinnati through Dayton to Toledo and Detroit. When local observers list the Wallace strongholds in Ohio, they name these towns plus Akron, to which many West Virginians were drawn to work

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in the rubber factories during World War II.

But the Wallace wave reaches beyond Appalachian whites. Cleveland's "cosmo" population mix consists chiefly of eastern Europeans and, again, the registration figures are ominous. Recently, an open registration day was held in each ward. In Ward 15, which is white, 753 new voters signed up. Nearby, in Ward 13, which is heavily Negro, only 187 enrolled. This pattern held throughout the city. Some explain this by saying black registrations were almost exhausted when Mayor Carl Stokes was elected. But that contest also brought out a heavy white vote.

Today, observers estimate Wallace's support in Ohio as high as 25 percent of the total (it could go higher in a state like Indiana, where his audiences have been described as "wall-to-wall steelworkers") enough to deprive either major party candidate of a clear majority and his running mates of the needed coattails. Of this 25 percent, the same observers say, three out of five (15 percent) should be charged to the Democrats, largely because of blue-collar defections but also because a large chunk of rural votes in the southeastern section of the state appears headed Wallace's way. The remainder (10 percent) is charged to Wallace's take-over of the "hate" vote, which Barry Goldwater lured into the GOP.

Sure, the "pros" think Wallace's support will fade once the voters, confronted by the reality of helping to select a real, live President, get into the voting booth. But they have only the precedent of the fate of other third-party candidates to bolster that belief, and 1968 hasn't been a good year for precedents.

Gilligan's dilemma is the toughest. To be elected, he must not only find a way to bring in defecting blue-collar workers and the frustrated activists of the McCarthy movement, but he dare not upset the party regulars and their allies in organized labor's hierarchy. Ohio, however, is a major disaster area for Humphrey. On a recent three-day swing, Humphrey spoke to few more than 25,000 to 30,000 people, a large percentage party regulars, in a state with 11 million residents.

Before labor groups, Gilligan has been known to look his audience in the eye and tell them if they want to "vote for hate" to go ahead and support Wallace, and then to suggest that it would be easier just to move to Alabama where they "know how to take care of their blacks and of labor at the same time." When Wallace took his case to the federal courts after failing to meet the state's unduly stringent requirements needed to qualify a third party, Gilligan suggested this was a strange thing for the country's leading advocate of states' rights to do. This is reverberating even among the cab drivers.

Gilligan's Republican opponent, Mr. Saxbe, is a folksy man, who travels about the state in a bus, chewing tobacco, meeting the folks at plant gates and talking about "law and order." On paper, Saxbe is the heavy favorite, for Nixon has a commanding lead in the state, though probably short of a majority because of the Wallace inroads. Nevertheless, reports from southeastern Ohio, a rural Democratic stronghold where Wallace is running strong, say that comment on the county-fair circuit this fall disclosed strong voter support for a Wallace-Gilligan combination. The reason: both are speaking out.

After devoting the summer to intra-party harassments, organized labor is getting back in harness. Democratic State Chairman Eugene O'Grady has a large number of attractive, young candidates for Congress and the state legislature (one House candidate, Virgil Musser, Rep. Frank Bow's opponent in the Canton area, is campaigning for licensing and registration of firearms). In the past, Democrats have won in Ohio when the working class voted en masse. The prime example is 1958, when the business community forced a referendum on the right-to-work issue. That experience led GOP strategists to come up with the slogan "never kick a sleeping dog." If registration figures are a clue, it's just possible that the man from Alabama has kicked that sleeping dog. If so, and if these voters, once having marked their ballots for Wallace, start looking around for a spark of independent leadership, Gilligan could be the man they turn to in the Senate race.

Paul Wieck

Foreign Aid and The Public Will

There is at work in the land something more, something deeper, than the boredom and weariness which the advocates of foreign aid cite to explain the cuts voted by Congress year after year. Last month the House of Representatives voted to appropriate $1.6-billion for the economic and military aid programs covered in the bill: the lowest ever. Other money for other programs considerably increases the over-all amounts available for foreign aid and related purposes. But the vote for the $1.6 million provided a fair measure of the congressional and national mood. Military aid came off quite well, only $45 million below the $420 million, requested by the Administration. It was the sum appropriated for economic aid – $1.25 billion, exactly half of the amount requested and $365.7 million less than the amount previously authorized by the House – that caused AID Administrator William S. Gaud to speak of "a retreat from responsibility" and

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to cry, "It is preposterous to say we can't afford to do better."

Of course it is preposterous. Of course we can afford to do better, and should. But that is not the point that has to be grasped and grappled with by the incoming national leadership. This is that the House vote expresses the will of the country. What the United States can afford for aid to other nations is not really at issue. The issue is whether the majority of Americans *want* to afford what the country can afford for the purpose, and the evidence is that they do not. There is a positive and growing hostility to the underlying concept of foreign aid, which is that the United States bears a responsibility for the security and welfare of that conglomerate of nations and mini-nations which we have been taught to miscall "the free world." Richard M. Nixon, campaigning for the Presidency, evokes cheers second only in volume and enthusiasm to those that reward his calls for "law and order," when he shouts that other countries ought to do more for themselves and depend less on the United States than they have been encouraged to do. That is a reasonable proposition (all of Mr. Nixon's propositions are reasonable). But, in the response of his crowds to this particular proposition, there is a note of unreasoned venom, the unmistakable sound of a desire to be done with the whole business of looking after other countries and other people. It is the sound that Congress hears and why Congress this year came near to a total refusal of new money for foreign aid.

One of the few public men who seem to comprehend the larger question raised by this trend in public and congressional opinion is former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, now president of the World Bank. The question is whether the United States should continue to rest its own security and that of the "free world" on the policy of collective defense which has governed our global relationships since the postwar 1940's. Foreign aid is both a pillar and an extension of that policy, and a public that does not understand and accept the necessity for it cannot be expected to support the basic policy indefinitely. "There is nothing to be gained," Mr. McNamara said early this year, "and much to be lost, by paying lip service to the policy and then failing to support the programs necessary to carry it out." Mr. Nixon, who expects to be the next President, and congressmen who talk up collective security and vote down foreign aid, do the country a disservice when they promise, as Mr. Nixon does, to make collective security more secure than ever, but simultaneously cater to populist antipathies which, if they go unchecked, are bound to undermine and invalidate the policy.

The most savage reductions in aid were in funds for the dollar loans which Congress for years has urged upon the Agency for International Development, as preferred alternatives to direct grants. The House chopped new money for Latin American loans from $515 million to $200 million, and voted a total appropriation $200 million below last year. At Punta del Este last year, President Johnson had promised the Latin Americans an *increase* of $100 million in the annual level of funds for the Alliance for Progress. Congress had refused to underwrite a flat promise of the increase proposed by Mr. Johnson, but did say in a resolution that it would be considered sympathetically; and so the President went ahead with the promise. The chief beneficiaries of the intended credit at the higher levels – Brazil, Chile, and Colombia – budgeted $170 million of their own funds for measures aimed at social and economic reform, in expectation of loans upon which AID must now renege. In order to salvage the most valued programs in those and other countries, AID is thinking of suggesting that Latin governments borrow available money to carry on for six months, and hope against hope that Congress will come up next year with money for another six months, and for the year after that. This leaves the US in a poor position to press its Latin neighbors for the improvements and reforms in agriculture, education, fiscal and governmental practices which the congressional cutters insistently demand.

The loan fund for the Near East, Asia and Africa was cut by the House from the requested $765 million to $265 million. India was to have been the main beneficiary ($408 million) of this fund, and it was apparent to AID and State Department officials dealing with Congressman Otto Passman's appropriations subcommittee that sheer dislike of India substantially motivated the cut. Pleas were vainly made that India's recovery from the disastrous droughts of recent years, and the response of its government, at grave political cost, to American insistence that it "free up" its internal economy in return for aid, would be impeded and set back. These appeals seemed only to intensify resentments dating to the time when the late Prime Minister Nehru and his abrasive UN Ambassador, Krishna Menon, rubbed prideful Americans the wrong way. At the other end of the temperamental scale, one of the subcommittee's few positive admonitions to administrators of the reduced funds was that military assistance to Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China be kept at the present level of around $90 million a year.

These loan programs are operated in a way that magnifies the effects of arbitrary changes. Most of the loaned money finances the dollar costs of American goods, machines, equipment which may either be intended for specific projects or may go into the receiving country's general economy, through middle-

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men who pay for the items in their local currencies. Markets for American producers and exporters are created. But when planned loan levels are suddenly and drastically lowered, as they were by this year's aid cuts, the entire economies of the countries concerned are affected.

The cuts won't affect "supporting assistance" for South Vietnam. Although the requested total for supporting assistance in seven countries, including Thailand, Laos, South Korea and the Dominican Republic, was reduced by $230 million, the officials in charge are very easy about Vietnam. The Tet offensive early this year so diminished the portion of the country that could be practically assisted that $76.3 million was left over from the last appropriation and, with other surpluses, is available for use in the current fiscal year. The South Vietnamese government's own gold and dollar reserves have been increasing at a healthy rate, it also appears, and some of that money may be used along with the American funds to keep pacification going in that unpacified country.

John Osborne

Pacification Through Genocide

Peace Is a Long Way off for Nigeria

In Nigeria, it's all over but the dying. It is unlikely that there will be any precise date when the civil war is officially over; this has not been the type of civil war that ends with the gentlemanly passing of swords between opposing generals. But Biafra has failed in its attempt to stand as an independent nation. The Biafran army has been defeated; the Biafran government, as an operational administrative unit, has been destroyed. Nothing remains for the federal forces but mopping-up operations. The dying, however, will go on for a long time.

It will long be debated whether there ought to have been an independent Biafra. During the 16 months since independence was declared, there were many times when an independent Biafra seemed likely. Those who opposed independence stressed that Nigeria was at least one African state large enough to be viable. The balkanization of Africa is a tragedy, one with which perhaps we must learn to live, but which need not be amplified by encouraging divisions of existing states along tribal lines. Those who supported independence pointed out that Biafra, with 14 million people and rich oil resources, would be no mini-state, and that in any case the differences between the contending parties are irreconcilable. The Biafrans throughout have fought with courage, skill and determination, and in the early period of fighting achieved some brilliant successes. But once the great powers intervened in support of the federal forces, there was no real doubt as to the outcome. To the British, the Nigerian Federation symbolized the positive aspects of colonialism. Here was something in Africa in which they could still take pride. It also, incidentally, symbolized the protection of their investment in Nigerian oil. To the Americans, the Federation was the showcase of US aid for economic development. We, too, had little enough in Africa to which we could point with pride, and we needed all we could get. To the Soviet Union, civil war in Nigeria represented a chance to get a foot in the door. It is inconceivable that the Soviets cared a West African farthing whether one side or the other was victorious. It was important to them, however, to intervene on the winning side; and they evidently decided that the Federation was destined to win. Even Egypt, for her own inscrutable reasons, got into the act. Against such a consortium, the limited assistance that Biafra could elicit from Portugal and France was sufficient only to prolong the agony. The only substantial question remaining was how long it would continue.

That is still the question today, with the Federation clearly victorious. The Ibo were not fighting for the principle of self-determination, or for home rule, or property rights, or representative democracy. They were fighting for their lives. Biafra had its genesis in the massacres of Ibo tribesmen who had ventured into other regions of Nigeria. Its morale was sustained in the face of the patent hopelessness of its cause by the genocidal practices of the advancing federal troops. A battle for political rights or property rights may be ended by the signing of a piece of paper, or the recognition of a *de facto* situation. But a battle for life is ended only by death. For all the dying that has been done in Biafra, much remains to be accomplished.

Like the Mandingos, who drive sharp bargains farther west along the Guinea coast, the Ibo have frequently been characterized as "West African Jews." Unlike the predominantly Moslem Mandingos, they rejoice in the appellation. They are proud of their high level of education and skill, their careful attention to pecuniary values, their tendency to spread out as economically privileged but socially despised minorities among other nationalities. In recent months, they have found solace and inspiration in comparing their position to the state of Israel, surrounded by implacably hostile peoples, numerically overwhelming, culturally and economically less advanced. The analogy was apt,

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but incomplete. There is no politically influential Ibo minority in the United States; there is no worldwide syndrome of guilt over the persecution of the Ibo. In combat against her neighbors, Israel has won, Biafra has lost. A different analogy must be found; but it may still be Jewish.

The position of the Ibo in the reconstituted Nigerian Federation may be analogous to that of the Jews, not in Israel, but in the Third Reich. General Gowan is no Hitler, but neither does he control his troops to the extent that Hitler did. He can deplore with impunity. His power depends upon the tenuous support of the fanatic tribalism of the Hausa and Yoruba. He can deplore, but he cannot forbid. He can direct the movement of troops, but he cannot control their actions where they are. His power is limited, his authority circumscribed, his choice Hobson's. If he maintains occupation forces in the conquered territory, the process of genocide will continue; if he does not, Eastern Nigeria will be in fact the sovereign state of Biafra.

The heavy toll taken among Ibo children and the elderly by protein deficiency and other nutritional diseases will not end with the fighting. Many survivors will grow up stunted in mind and body. The generation born in the sixties will long serve as a poignant memorial of the Nigerian civil war. But it is unlikely that Nigerians will need a reminder of these tragic events. A people fighting for their lives cannot be pacified by an occupying army; they can only be killed. There will be sniping, sabotage, guerrilla raids. Sentries will be found strangled at their posts; commissary supplies poisoned. And there will be reprisals, after the fashion of Lidice, which will serve to strengthen the Ibo conviction that they are fighting for their lives. Peace is still a long way off for Nigeria.

David F. Ross

Peasants Near DMZ Re-bury Their Dead

Now, a Bombing Halt?

Con Thien

A red flag popped up in the Demilitarized Zone on Labor Day morning. Another appeared, and another, until nearly 300 flags waved defiantly from the battle-charred lowlands just a few thousand yards north of Con Thien. Several days later, Army tanks thundered into the DMZ in search of the North Vietnamese flag wavers. This was the first sign that the Marines had quietly withdrawn from the first line of defense on the DMZ, leaving the Army's swift armor in charge.

Coming on the heels of the Marine withdrawal from Khe Sanh, the Army's take-over of Con Thien is final proof of failure of Marine strategy at the DMZ. For the past two years, the Marines have strung a static line of defense along the buffer zone – a series of little Alamos – from Gio Linh on the South China Sea coast west to the now deserted Khe Sanh near the Laos border. The static-line concept has proved largely unworkable, and the vulnerability of the outposts making up the defensive line has been a major factor in President Johnson's decision not to call a complete bombing halt of North Vietnam.

Their past glories notwithstanding, the Marines have been less than dazzling in this war – in fact, dull, clumsy and unimaginative. General William Westmoreland found it hard to convince the Marines in the summer of 1966 that a North Vietnamese Division was poised for attack across the DMZ. General Lewis Walt, then the Marine commanding general, wasn't anxious to move his men out of their Danang, Phu Bai and Chu Lai enclaves. Pressured by Westmoreland, he reluctantly dispatched two battalions to the northernmost province of Quang Tri. They immediately roused a hornet's nest of North Vietnamese. More Marines were rushed to Quang Tri and Operation Hastings, the first battle near the demarcation line, was on. Hastings phased into Operation Prairie, and six or seven Marine battalions were in constant contact with the enemy for the remainder of 1966.

The leathernecks swapped heavy casualties for a series of outposts – the Rockpile, Cam Lo, Con Thien and Gio Linh – nestling close to the once-neutral buffer. In each outpost, the grinding methodology was the same: establish fortified positions on high ground for artillery, then probe and patrol, using periodic large ground sweeps to break up enemy forces. When North Vietnam used the 1967 Tet holidays to move 25,000 tons of supplies southward, storing more than half the matériel in depots edging the zone, the US trundled its huge 175-mm guns to positions two miles south of the DMZ and began shelling enemy stockpiles. In April, 1967, Westmoreland sent 7,500 Army reinforcements to the five northern provinces. Thus the Marines were freed to strengthen their positions along the DMZ.

The Marines had already become famous for – as one Army general put it – "their jughead tactics." They seemed hung up on blood-and-guts maneuvers lifted from World War II and Korea manuals. For instance, in a typical battle for several hills around Khe Sanh in early 1967, the Marines made repeated frontal assaults, Guadalcanal-style, on North Vietnamese bunkers. Many young Americans died needlessly. Other US units had long learned to stay away from bloody frontal assaults, letting massive airstrikes and

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artillery do the dirty work instead. An Inchon-type amphibious landing was the Marines' prime ploy in the first invasion of the DMZ in mid-1967. When the operation kicked off, the Marines discovered that they were not fighting a charge-up-the-beach kind of war. The amphibious force met with practically no resistance. But other Marines helicoptered to the DMZ were brutally chewed up. They lacked the support wasted on the beachhead landing.

The Marines in Vietnam, mostly footsloggers called "Grunts," have been hopelessly ill-equipped to fight a war in which mobility is the most important factor. The DMZ invasion – Operation Hickory – was supposed to break the siege of Con Thien and other Marine outposts along the DMZ, which had started several months before when Hanoi moved heavy artillery and troops into the zone. It didn't, simply because the Marines lacked the mobility to scour the area properly. At the time, the 76,000 Marines in Vietnam had only 230 helicopters, mostly aging UH-34's. By comparison, the Army's 18,000-man 1st Air Cavalry Division had 430 choppers of the latest design.

While the Grunts were stumbling about the DMZ like a slow-witted football tackle, then Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara decided to build a permanent electronic-detection barrier across the waist of South Vietnam that would stretch, it was rumored, through Laos to Thailand. Pentagon generals called McNamara's scheme "harebrained." The military consensus was that frequent stabbing attacks inside the buffer zone would be more effective than a static defense based on a permanently fortified line. McNamara, however, prevailed. A 600-meter wide swath running along the DMZ from Con Thien to the South China Sea, a distance of six miles, had already been bulldozed on South Vietnamese instructions. McNamara ordered the area defoliated and seeded with electronic sensors to detect and locate infiltrating enemy.

Now one year old, the multi-million-dollar barrier looks like a giant golf fairway rolling eastward from Con Thien to the salt-white sandy coast. The "Ranchhand" pilots (whose official motto is "Only *we* can prevent forests") have not airsprayed defoliants on the strip for some time, and it is now greened over with chest-high elephant grass. The idea of stringing barbed wire and German tape the barrier's length was given up. So were plans to extend McNamara's Line the full 43-mile width of South Vietnam.

At Con Thien, a red clay knoll rising gently from the coastal plains, New England-based Sanders Associates recently installed a million-dollar infra-red enemy artillery detector – latest in a grab-bag assortment of detection devices. A Sanders representative, a young civilian engineer, lives in this bunkered outpost and oversees the operation of the expensive prototype. McNamara's line has clearly not proved its cost effectiveness. Although the detection devices have turned up a monthly average of 200 targets since last October, a good number of the supposed enemy were water buffaloes and other animals. The North Vietnamese have managed to slip several regiments through the line and around the three outposts guarding the barrier. Recently the enemy drove a tracked vehicle, possibly a tank, between two of the guardposts.

The siege of Khe Sanh early this year prodded Washington into taking a critical look at the Marines' lumbering tactics. Result: the Defense Department ordered the leathernecks to revamp their northern defenses. While the Army's Air Cavalry Division rescued the Marines at Khe Sanh, the Pentagon hastily mobilized a fresh Army brigade of armor in the States and ordered it sent four months later to patrol the DMZ. Defense planners commanded the Marines to whip the 3rd Marine Division, the battered defender of the north, into a mobile unit like the Army's 1st Air Cavalry or the 101st Airborne. Major General Raymond Davis, an aggressive Medal of Honor winner in Korea, was sent to do the job.

After Davis took over the 3rd Division in May, the Marines in the north adapted themselves to the proven tactics of the Army. "The 3rd Division looks just like the Air Cav or any other Army outfit now," says an ex-Marine. Equipped with new helicopters, the Marines have abandoned seven out of more than a dozen fixed positions in the past several months, keeping on the move to throw the enemy off balance. Khe Sanh has been deserted and Con Thien and three other DMZ outposts surrendered to the mobile Army armor – under temporary operational control of the Marines. The Marines now occupy only five firm positions in the north, mostly headquarters bases, and reports say at least one of these may be discarded. Seven of the 16 Marine battalions assigned months ago to beef up the DMZ have been withdrawn and returned to the defense of Danang. There are rumors that the entire 3rd Division will be pulled out of the area.

General Creighton Abrams has convinced President Johnson that a further cutback in the bombing without North Vietnamese reciprocity would imperil the lives of large numbers of American troops guarding the DMZ, and jeopardize installations there that lie within the range of North Vietnamese artillery. But because of the recent change of US strategy near the buffer zone, many observers here believe that a total bombing halt is militarily less risky than ever before. The 60 Army tanks now patrolling the eastern sector of the DMZ have diminished the importance of the fixed outposts along the McNamara Line. And along

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the western sector, the constantly moving Marines no longer present a static target for enemy artillery.

No one awaits a total bombing halt and cease-fire more anxiously than the thousands of South Vietnamese peasants who live near Con Thien and the DMZ. When Army tanks recently moved into new positions near the zone, many peasants unearthed the remains of their ancestors and reburied them in safer spots – for the third time since the Marines came.

ZALIN B. GRANT

The Right of Reply

by Simon Lazarus

Just as Chicago Mayor Richard Daley was publicly grumbling at the refusal of the television networks to give him unfettered time to reply to his critics before the television cameras, a Chicago federal court quietly destroyed the Federal Communications Commission rules which provided the mayor with whatever basis in law his complaint may have had. In a September 10 decision, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals held unconstitutional the FCC's so-called "personal attack rules." These rules, promulgated in July 1967, guaranteed equal reply time to individuals whose "honesty, character, or integrity" is maligned on broadcast stations. The rules were aimed principally at the tactics of the Reverend Billy James Hargis, H. L. Hunt, Dan Smoot, and others in the right-wing galaxy who dominate the political programming of many radio stations in the South and Southwest.

Unfortunately for the commission its new rules appeared also to apply to network editorialists. Consequently they were challenged in court by the kind of high-priced legal talent that country radio stations rarely hire – professional eminences Archibald Cox, Harry Kalven, and Herbert Wechsler, as well as the formidable Washington lawyer, Lloyd N. Cutler. Cutler's ingenious brief for CBS showed the court how Eric Sevareid's nightly script might be pecked to bits by cost-conscious executives eager to make sure that none of the network's enormously valuable prime time had to be devoted to free personal responses by the objects of the newscaster's occasional ire. In view of such potential constraints on commentators' forensic styles, the court decided that the personal attack rules abridged free expression and therefore violated the First Amendment.

Cutler's success startled the FCC, which has recently attempted unprecedented forays into the policing of programming abuses, including an investigation of allegations that CBS's Chicago affiliate WBBM-TV "staged" a pot-party for the benefit of its viewers, and a severe slap on the wrists to NBC for permitting Chet Huntley to attack federal meat regulation without disclosing Huntley's interests in cattle ranches. The case also surprised – pleasantly – the Washington "communications bar" – lawyers specializing in communication matters – which has been desperately searching for some means of stopping the crusade against "violence on television," which may induce the FCC to further unprecedented crackdowns on offensive programming practices.

Nevertheless, the decision would be of parochial concern alone, were it not for the ominous shadow cast by some of the court's unkind remarks about bureaucratic censorship, not only on the particular regulations in question, but on the entire fabric of the doctrine of broadcast fairness. Under this hoary and hitherto unquestioned principle, the FCC requires all television and radio stations to be "fair" in their coverage of controversial public issues.

If this principle flouts the First Amendment, as the court seemed sometimes to suggest, then the decision may portend catastrophe – and not just for the lonesome ACLU lawyers who inveigh against local right-wing radio broadcasters. If the fairness doctrine is unconstitutional, then there is nothing to hinder a Howard Hughes or a Harold Geneen, in command of a national network and intent on manipulating its nightly nationwide newscasts. No remedy short of Molotov cocktails is available to local minorities like the black people of Jackson, Mississippi, who were long at the mercy of segregationist television station WLBT, owned by Texas' Murchison brothers and managed by a leader of the White Citizens' Council.

These problems are neither hypothetical nor isolated. The power of the men who control the mass

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media is great and heavy with very public importance. Technological changes expanding the channels of communication have been used to consolidate the control of traditional titans. In the typical average-size city, there is one newspaper, or if there are two, they are probably jointly operated and managed; the other significant sources of news and opinion (other than *Time* and *Newsweek*, which both own major-market TV stations) are the three VHF network-affiliated stations – one of which is probably owned by the newspaper In 30 of the top 50 markets at least one of the local VHF stations is so owned.)

With access to the press so structured, it is not possible to know whether to consider FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson insightful or naïve for observing that the constitutional right to petition one's government is meaningless in practical terms without a corresponding "right to petition one's media."

For decades, the FCC – hardly an organization with secure claims to excessive regulatory zeal – never doubted for a moment its right and power to assure the citizen that he did have the right to petition his media, at least his broadcast media. Its self-confidence was boosted by landmark Supreme Court decisions written by Justice Frankfurter, who never lost his New Dealer's faith in the expertise and high-mindedness of federal administrators, and took almost every opportunity to enlarge their discretionary power. To protect the peculiarly broad powers of the FCC, Frankfurter wrote into constitutional law a theory that broadcasting was as mysterious as latter-day prophets contend and that, therefore, archaic notions about the freedom of the press were not applicable to words traveling on the "public" airwaves.

The little-known federal judge in Chicago who refused to be intimidated by Justice Frankfurter's "mere labels," was plainly correct to conclude that bureaucrats are bureaucrats, whether in Prague or Washington, and that speech is speech, whether the words affected are read or heard. The court may also have been right to believe that the Constitution bars government from doing things which have the effect of making Eric Sevareid's lessons for the day even blander than they already are. But it would be calamitous as well as legally erroneous to conclude, as the court sometimes seemed eager to conclude, that the basic principle of broadcast fairness suffers from the same infirmities as the tired lawyers' theories traditionally used to defend it, or as the personal-attack rules which the FCC believed it could derive from the fairness doctrine.

To promote free expression, this country needs not to destroy the principle of media fairness, but to extend it. Daily newspapers, most of which are literal monopolies (there are only 45 cities left in this country with two or more independently owned and managed dailies), ought to be required to respect both sides of controversial public issues, along with the television stations they own and operate. Free speech is threatened by private media-owners who hold power on a scale never foreseen by 18th-century liberals anxious to protect one-page broadsides that constituted the press of their day. Whether the instrument of this power is "print media," or the electronic variety – and the distinction between the two may soon be obliterated by technology – the power is there and demands at least some gesture of public control.

In the case of broadcasting, the government may be obligated as well as entitled to act; for the broadcaster's license is the government's gift, and his monopoly is the beneficiary of vigilant governmental protection against potential competitors like Pay TV and Cable TV. The basic fairness doctrine discharges that obligation satisfactorily; it does not discourage hard-hitting commentary as the networks have alleged the new personal attack rules do, for the doctrine gives the broadcaster broad latitude in determining how he wishes to comply with its essential directive to let all sides be aired.

In the case of newspapers, the problem of fashioning a remedy is more difficult. In principle, however, as George Washington University law professor Jerome Barron has suggested, the Constitution holds no objection to a legislative determination that a rule of fairness is a necessary buttress for free expression and free access to all viewpoints. In practice, the most that such a statute could effectively guarantee would be the right to have one's letter to the editor printed, and a right to buy space for political advertisements at the going rate. Both provisions would be genuinely useful reforms, though neither could promise to lower dramatically present barriers to entry into the mass information market.

There is, perhaps, legitimate room for doubt as to whether a right so fragile and fundamental as the right of free speech should be entrusted to a bureaucracy. Perhaps courts instead of the FCC should be given the power to enforce the fairness doctrine and lift the licenses of recalcitrant broadcasters. In any event, though the Seventh Circuit decision may suggest movement in a direction which is unwise and even dangerous, it has raised questions which are as important as they have been unnoticed. They deserve immediate attention from Congress as well as from the commission and the courts.

Mr. Lazarus *is a lawyer living in Washington and was formerly Legal Assistant to FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson.*

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Cleverness and Caprice

Jacques Doniol-Valcroze, 48, is one of the least-known directors in that now nearly venerable group once called the New Wave. He was a founder and an editor of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, is an actor, and has directed four feature films. The last of these is now shown here with a bilingual title, *Le Viol (The Rape)* – not too raw but, for God's sake, Harry, let's not throw that title *away* – and it exemplifies in reverse something that François Truffaut once said. Speaking of a group of films that included an earlier Doniol-Valcroze work, Truffaut said, "They would have gained from being discussed before shooting . . . with somebody who has a clear logical mind. . . . There can be no doubt that although all three of them are interesting films, the audience does not grasp exactly what the director wanted to say." *Le Viol* is also an interesting film, but the audience grasps much too exactly what Doniol-Valcroze wanted to say. If he had stopped earlier, the picture would have been more satisfactorily ambiguous.

Le Viol (The Rape)
(Freena)
Capricious Summer
(Sigma III)
Report on the Party and the Guests
(Sigma III)

A man tricks his way into the Paris apartment of a young wife on a Sunday when her husband is off on a hunting trip. The intruder ties her up (at first) but doesn't otherwise molest her. They converse – more and more – during the day, and her fear of rape gives way to a flare of sexual attraction. At the end of the day the man leaves, the husband returns, and the picture ought to end. But it goes on, and goes to pieces, with a trick snapper at the end that reduces the film to an explanation. Before that, it had been an imaginative exploration.

The bulk of the picture – the day between intruder and victim – is well done. There is fine color photography by Rune Ericson. (This is a French-Swedish co-production.) The ultra-mod apartment is photographed in a Richard Avedon-Irving Penn shadowless light that endows profane objects with sacred regard. The two principals are played well by Bruno Crémer and Bibi Andersson. Crémer has an easy way of suggesting that there is more to him than meets the eye. For Miss Andersson, praise depends only on the quality of the part she has. When it is *Persona*, she gives a superlative performance; when it is *Le Viol*, she is good.

Doniol-Valcroze makes knowledgeable use of his two actors' chemistries: he lets them touch, separate, tease, and fuse, like particles under a microscope. His camera movements have a measured grace that is not imposed on the story; it acutely finds the inner rhythm. Musicians say that incompetent conductors always play slow movements too slowly; Doniol-Valcroze plays his film at exactly the right slow tempo. We savor everything, and it is never tedious.

Until that trick ending. It switches our attention to the author's cleverness (Doniol-Valcroze also wrote the script) and to clear explication, away from what had been on our minds up to then – the complexity, the inexplicability of human behavior. With a few tiny changes in the film (of its "plants" for the ending) and an earlier close, *Le Viol* would have been a delicate little drama of a woman watching her behavior with horror and gratitude, a secret censored dream made real without responsibility on her part. Still, warts of cleverness and all, *Le Viol* is worth seeing.

The Sixth New York Film Festival has opened, and I'll comment about it after it closes. Meanwhile, two of the festival films have been transferred to theaters. Both are Czech, so there are extrinsic reasons at the moment why I wish I could praise them, but both are disappointing.

Jiri Menzel's first film, *Closely Watched Trains*, was so delicately conceived that it's hard to believe that *Capricious Summer* is his second film. In every way, the second is inferior to the first. The color photography (*Trains* was black and white) looks like bad color TV much of the time. The acting is all in "received" terms – that is, each actor depends on the audience to recognize his role from a lot of previous pictures, and he supplies only stereotype signals to confirm the lineage. The story is like a second-rate self-consciously French film of the '30s, a little "human" incident in a country town, doused with comfy worldly irony. Three middle-aged male friends live in this town. A small traveling circus comes through, and each of the men almost has an affair with the one girl in the circus. Each of the men fails in his own way, while the fat wife of one of them does have an affair with the girl's funambulist-lover (played by Menzel). The pattern is plain quite early, the progress is clumsy, and the gratifications are nil. *Closely Watched Trains* was impressive because of its fresh, tart, personal look at much-used material (Nazi occupation, questions of human freedom). *Capricious Summer* is tired: a collection of clichés about European small-town café wisdom.

I was not much taken by Jan Nemec's first film *Diamonds of the Night*, but it was a respectable piece of work. Two boys flee a concentration camp and, harried and hungry, are captured by a civil guard of ancient, doddering, inhuman huntsmen. The running through the woods all seemed to me just camera-dollying ad infinitum, not an emotional experience; the flashing flashbacks seemed patterned, not illuminating; but I relished the neo-realistic footage of the obscene German-Czech ancients.

Nemec's second film, *Report on the Party and Its Guests*, proves once again that every country has to suffer

(Continued on page 32)

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Autobiography of Woody Guthrie

In 1943 Woody Guthrie, who was then 31, published his autobiography up to that point. He had begun to make a reputation, which was to grow rapidly during the next years, though it was never to reach that scale of full, dazzling, universal fame that present-day folk singers so easily can achieve. For Guthrie, who's pretty generally recognized as our most important folk singer-composer, a clear source of so many others, lacked most of the means and grounds for such éclat: television during the opening and consolidating phases of his career, a youthful following of army corps size, immense purchasing power and a big say in what the culture is like, a highly sophisticated and technologized record industry. Besides that, he seems from all accounts to have been temperamentally unsuited to holding the limelight with complete tenacity, even if an incurable disease of the nervous system hadn't kept him hospitalized for the last 10 or 12 years of his life. When his life did end last year a great many persons were surprised to learn that he hadn't died years before.

Bound for Glory
by Woody Guthrie
(Dutton; $6.95)

Guthrie's autobiography has been reissued now, 25 years after its publication and with the charming, untutored drawings of the original book, and I, for one, am full of gratitude. For the book not only holds up as a personal document that can rank among the more unpretentious and engaging we possess, it also provides a sense of America during the vanished and vanishing generations immediately preceding our own, a sense of national style, behavior, aspirations and stresses that is most valuable to know about. Considerably better than even the superior proletarian literature of the period, certainly better than most of the retrospective glances we have been getting from old-time radicals, the book emerges from the era shaped with its accents and colors and, perhaps most important, its naïvetés so different from our own.

Quite unlike most of our current folk singers, Guthrie was from the land, was the possessor of his own unborrowed language, knew poverty like his own skin and protested against nothing about which he hadn't intimate knowledge. Bob Dylan and Joan Baez may be superior artists – they are certainly more inventive and Dylan at least is much more complex – but as members of an affluent and *wised-up* generation they can't have experienced what Guthrie did. He was moved by a combination of moral outrage, high natural spirits, ingenuousness and the kind of patriotism native to American populist radicals – *This Land is Your Land* – a love of country anchored in a not yet undermined belief in American possibilities of brotherhood and justice.

Bound for Glory is very far from being confessional literature; its easy-going conversational manner, the spinning of a yarn rather than the construction of a moral or psychic drama, is the result of both Guthrie's own fairly simple nature and the era's prevailing style, and so the book makes its appeal to what remains in us of such simplicity and what remains of our desire to know about a time when America could still tell stories about itself without irony, disgust or despair. Not that Guthrie was any sort of apologist for the country; he did after all grow to manhood during the depression, and was an uncompromising radical who could address the following exhortation to a group of jobless men: "All I know is we gotta git together an' stick together. This country won't ever git much better as long as it's dog eat dog, ever man for his own self, an' ta hell with the rest of the world. We gotta all git together, dam it all, an' make somebody give us a job somewhere doin' somethin'!"

Yet the assumption throughout the book is that the country is fundamentally good, that it is suffering from some temporary disorder which can be set right, that the struggle is between the vast majority, the workers and farmers who want their birthright and want the stated American values to become actual, and a small number of exploiters, "anti-Americans" who are betraying the land and its promises. In this mood, so much lower in political sophistication than ours, so lacking in "data" and sociological verve, Guthrie can, for example, think of anti-Negro feeling as "stupid" and unworthy of white people, and of bankers and the like as being not so much evil as cut off from the sources of life. He came from a milieu and an era in which physical labor still retained its central and potentially ennobling position in our existence and in which physical connections among men might be violent or troubled but never less than essential.

Guthrie was born in a small town in Oklahoma in 1912, and the first half of the book is an account of his childhood there. The tale is innocent yet tough-minded, lively, shrewd and enormously satisfying to read, a narrative with resemblances to some of Mark Twain's more straightforward autobiographical writings and, though a great deal more hardheaded and more marked by pain, to Booth Tarkington. The boy's father was a well-to-do real estate dealer whose two-fisted ways – he seems literally to have punched out some of his successful deals – puzzled and troubled the son. His mother was a sensitive woman, a lover of "fine things" from whom he most likely inherited his musical ability. While he was still a small child his father suffered a severe business setback which brought the family almost to poverty. A few years after that, Woody's sister was burned to death in a kitchen fire and then his mother, who had been

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showing signs of disturbance all along, suffered a complete breakdown and was taken to an insane asylum. Finally the father, broken in body and spirit, became unable to earn more than the barest living.

Despite all this, Guthrie's childhood seems to have been in possession of itself, to have found means of pleasure and even to have been, from a present vantage point, something of a splendidly full experience. The first part of the book contains long, wonderfully entertaining descriptions of that life of boys on the land – discovering nature, unearthing secrets – and busy with their replicas of adult life – wars, rival societies, miniature technologies – that may still be going on in America but that most of us now think of as belonging to the nostalgic, literary past. And it also contains dry, amusing accounts of small-town life, neither alienated nor sentimental, but steadily calibrated between the two:

> "It took you just about an hour to get up through town, say hello, talk over the late news, family gossip, sickness, weather, crops and lousy politics. Everybody had something to say about something, or somebody, and you usually knew word for word what it was going to be about before you heard them say it, as we had well-known and highly expert talkers on all subjects in and out of this world."

Guthrie's language ranges from this kind of relaxed and grammatical utterance to a proletarian or rustic argot in which spellings like "skeered" and "likker" predominate and there are a great many "goshes" and "derns." At times it gets a bit thick, particularly when Guthrie is quoting some uneducated person and you feel the strain involved in wanting to make sure the reader knows how earthy and uneducated speech *really* sounds: "I didn't lak ya damn looks frum da very start." He can also lapse into some pretty bad homespun rhetoric: "Maybe the west country needs me out there. It's so big and I'm so little. It needs me to help fill it up and I need it to grow up in." But this sort of thing is rare and is more than balanced by his frequent flashes of verbal originality and precision:

> "I whiffed my nose and smelled the loud whang of hair tonic on Warren's hair."

> "His voice was sandy and broken up in little pieces. Lots of things went through your mind when he talked – wheat stems and empty cotton stalks, burnt corn, and eroded farm land."

And he is capable of enormously subtle although casually expressed insights into the social and psychological phenomena of his youth among people who were close but also a cognitive distance from each other: "People said, 'In them days your pa and ma made a pretty picture,' but there was a look in people's eyes like they was just talking about a pretty movie that come through town."

In his middle teens Guthrie went to Texas, helping his father run a seedy rooming house, working at half a dozen other manual jobs, finding after a time that "things was starting to stack up in my head and I just felt like I was going out of my wits if I didn't find some way of saying what I was thinking." At first the way was painting ("I made a couple dozen heads of Christ and the cops that killed Him") and then, in the most offhanded announcement, "An uncle of mine taught me to play the guitar and I got to going out a couple of nights a week to the cow ranches around to play for the square dances. I made up new words to old tunes and sung them everywhere I'd go."

In the late thirties Guthrie went to California, riding the rails and hitchhiking toward the promised land. He is a clear-minded and compassionate observer of the great migration of that era, that troubled, pained movement off a barren land and toward an El Dorado that quickly revealed itself to be guarded by armies of cops and company finks. Playing for pennies in saloons and on street-corners, he shaped his gift, until he began to make local radio appearances and to achieve a growing fame. In 1942 he came East. He had been asked to audition for the

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Rainbow Room, and he relates how he suddenly felt the absurdity of his presence among nightclub managers and advertising women and slipped out to go "Sixty-five stories back to the world. Quite a little elevator ride down to where the human race was being run."

The book ends in 1942. Guthrie is singing songs about the war, about beating "old Hitler" and the Japanese, patriotic songs we cannot imagine ourselves singing, naïve and heartfelt, probably the last innocent war songs Americans will have sung, but without rancor or racial hate or righteousness. He wanders through New York and plays in the streets:

> "I took the tune to church, took it holy roller, shot in a few split notes, oozed in a fake one, come down barrel house, hit off a good cross-country lonesome note or two, trying to get that old guitar to help me, to talk with me, talk for me, and say what I was thinking . . ."

Of course it never stopped doing that.

Congress Shocker

by Louis Heren

I read this book in Chicago, between the operations of Mayor Daley's *Einsatz Gruppen* in Grant Park and the take-over of the 35th Democratic National Convention by the same police and the Secret Service. The police were even more savage than the television video tapes suggested, but for me the most shocking development in Chicago was the take-over of the convention.

The Case Against Congress
by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson
(Simon & Schuster; $5.95)

Fascism seemed to come to Chicago, not in the disguise of Americanism, but with the abject subservience to security men and party bosses.

It was impossible to sleep most nights at the Conrad Hilton Hotel because the demonstrators in the park opposite maintained a constant vocal assault with the help of bullhorns. *The Case Against Congress* did not at first seem to be the best reading to while away the few night hours. *Playboy* magazine would have been a better soporific, but the book was all I had to read, apart from the convention handouts and my own immortal prose. By the third night, however, I realized that I could not have chosen a more appropriate time and circumstance to read it.

It seemed then, and still does now in Washington, that the origins of many of the Chicago horrors could be traced directly back to Congress, the goings-on of whose members Pearson and Anderson have written about in a book which is not a rehash of *Washington Merry-Go-Round* but an original work based on the columns they have written for the *Washington Post*. Working in that great but rapidly disappearing American tradition of muckraking, they write with the passion of men who believe they know the difference between right and wrong, a dangerous assumption for most humans, perhaps, but exercised here with the laudable objective of exposing misconduct and abuse of power. The further objective is of course to try to bring about a better Congress.

Before I deal with the book, I want to return for a moment to Chicago. The young demonstrators I spoke to in Grant Park were a varied bunch of lost souls, a few Hippies, some New Leftists and many desperate McCarthyites. Their distemper cannot be explained simply, as Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii perceptively established in his keynote speech.

The motives of some were probably suspect. I admit impatience with the young followers of Marcuse, but the vast majority were united in detestation of what is known as the political process without being dropouts from society. They were against the Vietnam war of course, and President Johnson, but more enraged by a pro-

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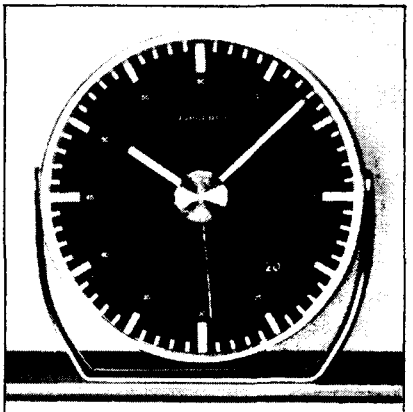

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cess that allowed that war to continue and, as the week wore on, by the public display of managed politics. They were very much involved, hence the passion. They had objectives, if only the nomination of Eugene McCarthy, but not one I spoke to had given a thought to Congress. Its impotence and corruption had been too long assumed.

Grant Park was no place to argue English ideas, or rather those of an Englishman who has reported from Washington for nearly eight years, but it seemed to me that the battle of Michigan Avenue and the national disgrace of the convention would not have occurred if more congressmen had given more time to the nation's business and less to feathering their own nests.

I know of the liberal belief in a strong Presidency as the agency for change and reform, and I accept the principle. There is perhaps no alternative when powers are separated in the modern world. The very size and confusion of a country with 200 million people and 50 states with 50 different constitutions, moreover, make presidential leadership imperative. All this I accept, without one wishful look back to my own tight little island and the unified parliamentary system of the House of Commons. I do insist, however, that much more is required of Congress than the protection of special interests.

Checks and balances should encompass more than the voting down of social expenditures by Southern Democrats and conservative Republican coalitions, or the deployment of the arms lobby against the peace groups outside. Accepting the need for presidential leadership, it remains true that unlike the Secretary of State the 535 members of Congress are the elected representatives of the people, and should respond to the wishes of the majority.

We all know that Congress does not, but Pearson and Anderson report on the whys and wherefores of congressional distractions: for instance, the curious connections between senators and representatives and corporations and industries which retain their law firms, the price received and paid in defense of the oil depletion allowance,

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the odd cooperation with the regulatory agencies, the logrolling and the intimacy with lobbyists both domestic and foreign.

They go on for 408 pages before they reach the Good Guys. Alas, there are very few of them, Mike Mansfield of Montana, George Aiken of Vermont, John Williams of Delaware, Hale Boggs of Louisiana, Frank Church of Idaho, Edith Green of Oregon. The commendations get shorter as we proceed down the short list. One cannot but notice that the good guys tend to come from states with lots of empty space and few special interests. Some of the not-so-good guys, such as William Fulbright of Arkansas, are clearly under pressures which could sweep away their chances of reelection if they aspired to the short list.

Should voters accept Fulbright's myopia on civil rights and his defense of oil and gas interests in order that he may remain chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee? Such questions are not asked. Indeed, the authors' preoccupation with personal honesty makes their ten proposals for reform much more modest than they should have been.

Few would object to reforms such as a declaration of assets and sources of income, but there is more wrong with Congress than the pecuniary shenanigans of its members. To begin with one might look at the seniority system. The loyalty oath was a bone of contention at the Chicago convention, but it might be extended in some form beyond the presidential election.

There is the relative lack of public interest in politics except in a presidential election year, which surprises most foreigners temporarily marooned on these shores. One should surely remember the Southern guns guarding the doors of voter registration offices against blacks, the gerrymandering and the malapportionment of congressional districts.

Some improvement can be expected from the Supreme Court decisions and the needling reports of the Civil Rights Commission, but the case against Congress is more damning than the one filed by Pearson and Anderson at your local bookseller. A case could be made for a constitutional convention to review all its procedures.

Nevertheless, if the authors' puritanical zeal opens them to the charge of a too simplistic approach, their book is worth reading. In spite of the almost daily revelations in their column, it remained a shocker, and might just shock some people into taking action.

The Case Against Congress is also a reminder that there is more to reporting Washington than living in Georgetown and knowing presidential special assistants and assistant secretaries of state by their first names. I admit that the power has moved westward, from Capitol Hill to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Foggy Bottom and the Pentagon, but surely the Washington press corps could give more attention to what goes on in that mishmash of a classical structure where the people are supposed to rule.

Another minor surprise for the foreign reporter is that while the west lobby of the White House is more often than not bursting with reporters, the congressional press galleries are invariably empty except for a few wire service reporters. He generally follows the example of the well-informed natives. After all, the power does lie in the White House, his interests in the State Department and the Pentagon are obvious, and more than one or two men are required to cover Congress.

One is loath to make comparisons. There are some respectable reasons why dog does not eat dog. I know that what power has been left to Britain lies in the House of Commons, or rather is exposed there because the executive must answer to it. For instance, no British prime minister or foreign secretary could refuse to debate a war such as Vietnam.

In London, the action is in parliament. American newspapers cannot be expected to man Congress with the legions of reporters who take up permanent residence in the Palace of Westminster, but I would not like to think of Washington without the *Congressional Quarterly* and the *Washington Merry-Go-Round*. Without them, one would have the impression that the country was being run by a bunch of non-elected apparatchiks.

The bigger American newspapers could afford to have more men cover-

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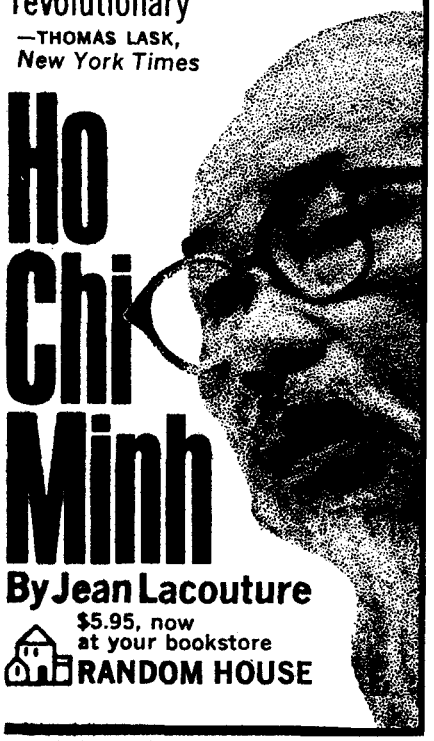

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ing Congress. They may find it more difficult than writing 2,000 words on Whither Czechoslovakia, but there are compensations. The food is better, and more than one filing cabinet has a bottle of whisky in the bottom drawer. Even the House minority leader has a more resplendent office than the Secretary of State.

More important, they would have a taxing and useful job of reporting 535 politicians working under extraordinary pressures, and they would be sustained by the hope that they might help reform Congress and perhaps the entire political system. Meanwhile, Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson are to be congratulated for demonstrating that there is more to covering Congress than attendance at a few committee hearings and keeping an eye on the local congressional delegation.

The Latin Left

by Joseph A. Page

It was once fashionable for liberals to analyze the Latin American political scene in terms of three conflicting elements: the oligarchs, the communists, and the social democrats (also known as the democratic left). The first two groups contained the "bad guys," while members of the third group wore white hats. The oligarchs and the communists were easy to identify, the social democrats somewhat amorphous. At their core were Rómulo Betancourt and his *Acción Democrática* party of Venezuela, Víctor Haya de la Torre and his APRA *(Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana)* movement of Peru, Juan Bosch and his followers in the Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica's José Figueres. Occasionally considered in the category were the Bolivian MNR *(Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario)* and Mexico's PRI *(Partido Revolucionario Institucional)*, although their authoritarian styles made inclusion dubious at best. The conservative wing of today's Christian Democratic Party in Chile would also fall within the democratic left.

Nationalists without Nations: The Oligarchy Versus the People in Latin America
by Víctor Alba
(Praeger; $7.00)

According to liberal doctrine, the social democrats represented the only hope for progress with freedom in Latin America. As an alternative to the stagnation promoted by the oligarchs and the Kremlin-controlled totalitarianism sought by the Communist Parties, the social democrats offered economic and social development through popular movements operating within a framework of political democracy. They did not propose to eliminate the basic structures of capitalism. They were to be the force nourished by the Alliance for Progress and capable of achieving the stated goals of that ambitious program.

One now hears very little of the democratic left in Latin America. In Peru, the army has kept APRA from power, and Haya de la Torre in his old age, has swung markedly to the right. Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic and the Bolivian MNR fell before military coups. Mexico's "institutionalized revolution" has fossilized. Only Venezuela's *Acción Democrática* and the Chilean Christian Democrats remain in power, but neither has yet achieved any spectacular success. In the meantime, the Alliance for Progress gets along very nicely with the oligarchs and the generals.

The fate of the democratic left brings up these questions: Were the social democrats ever as significant as their supporters made them out to be? Why did they fail? Is there anything left of the movement?

Víctor Alba, a Latin American journalist now teaching political science at Kent State University, did not set out to answer these questions directly. *Nationalists without Nations* presents the standard social democratic argu-

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ments against the oligarchs as chief obstacles to progress in Latin America. But Alba's analysis of various political movements, his criticisms of Latin American nationalists and his suggested program of action unwittingly underscore some fundamental weaknesses of the social democratic approach.

When the Latin Americans gained independence during the 19th century, existing power structures remained virtually intact. Land-owning Creoles (American-born Spaniards) fought the Spanish crown to eliminate encroachments on their rule. In the decades of turmoil which followed independence, the Creoles preserved and strengthened their political and economic hegemony. The native Indians, the Negroes imported as slaves, and the lower-class whites and mixed breeds were effectively disenfranchised. Even the more liberal elements in the newly emerging cities failed to break the oligarchy's grip.

Alba traces these historical developments to support his thesis that no Latin American state (with the possible exception of Mexico) has achieved true nationhood. He postulates that "for a country to be a nation, there must be a common awareness of belonging to a nation, as well as a common desire for freedom, equality and democracy." In his view, the oligarchs have successfully suppressed the spread of any popular consciousness of participation in national life, as well as any popular longing for "freedom, equality and democracy."

Yet Alba does not explain why, under his definition, Cuba is not a nation. Certainly the great majority of Cubans know that they belong to a revolutionary movement that is transforming their country. Most Cubans desire "freedom, equality and democracy," within the context of their socialist revolution. To cite an additional factor, most Cubans would fight to protect their government against outside attack, while other Latin American governments cannot expect such popular support in the face of foreign intervention.

Alba dismisses the Communist Parties of Latin America as passive instruments of Soviet foreign policy, although his criticism is somewhat less harsh than that of Régis Debray, whose *Revolution in the Revolution?* indicts the communists for becoming institutionalized forces of counter-revolution.

The leftist-nationalists, or "Jacobins," comprise a political element omitted from the triangle of forces constructed by liberal theory. Alba accuses them of being opportunists who "preach in order to avoid fighting a revolution." He also claims that: "There is no known case of persecution to the death of elements of the Jacobin 'left'." No doubt this assertion contains some truth, since many extreme leftists have been known to talk loudly about revolution while enjoying all the pleasures of the society they condemn. But what of those who cross the line between word and deed? In the past several years there have been numerous instances of Jacobins leaving the comforts of city life to join insurgent movements in the countryside. Did Father Camilo Torres cease to be a leftist-nationalist when he joined guerrillas in rural Colombia? It is significant that Alba offers no analysis of those who have stopped preaching and have begun to fight.

The military have traditionally acted as a prop for the oligarchs. At times commentators have written of the possibility that some of the younger military technocrats might join with the extreme left to overthrow the existing order. The spectre of "Nasserism" has not yet materialized into a tangible force; thus far, it represents either wishful thinking or nail-biting anxiety. Alba's thought on the subject falls into the latter category: the "Nasserists" are the "real 'communist' threat in Latin America." Logic and history suggest three approaches to the oligarchy-military alliance: tolerate it (the general rule); destroy the army (the solution of the Mexican, Bolivian and Cuban Revolutions); convert the army to the cause of radical change (as yet unachieved). Alba gives no clue to his preference, or to any other alternatives. Inability to deal with the armed forces has been a fatal shortcoming of the democratic left.

In his pungent criticism of those Latin Americans who like to blame all their countries' ills (with the possible exception of climate, geographical configuration and natural disasters) on the US, Alba swings to the opposite pole, and argues that the failure to dislodge the oligarchs is due solely to a lack of resolution on the part of the Latins. He cites as an example the failure of those Latin governments under the control of the democratic left to threaten the nationalization of firms and property owned by US

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citizens when American marines began to interfere in the 1965 uprising in Santo Domingo. An intriguing thought, yet such continent-wide measures would hardly be appropriate to counter the numerous subtle means used by the US to help preserve "stability" in Latin America.

Alba does not explain in any detail the failures of the social democrats, whom he calls "populists," but he does recognize the basic dilemma which they have been unable to resolve. "Either they foment political action by the masses and, as soon as success seems imminent, are confronted with a military coup; or they try to appease the armed forces – meaning, in the last analysis, the oligarchy – and abandon their efforts to awaken the people. . . ." For anyone convinced of the necessity for radical change, a logical conclusion would seem to compel resistance to the military coup. Alba refuses to take this step. Instead, he advocates a general program of agrarian reform (ignoring the above-posed dilemma), and then, in a soaring flight of fantasy, urges the political unification of the continent.

Yet in view of the present US policy in Latin America, *Nationalists without Nations* provides a useful perspective on the futility of expecting those on top to carry out or permit a meaningful redistribution of political and economic power. There is nothing in history to suggest this is a remote possibility. Alba skillfully unmasks the standard oligarchical ploy of using the threat of "communism" to shake money out of the US. He also exposes the complaint that the disparity in prices between the raw materials Latin America exports and the manufactured goods which are imported is the prime cause of underdevelopment. The high level of prices for raw materials during the Korean War did not result in a marked improvement in the general standard of living. The oligarchs merely pocketed the profits.

Notes on Contributors

Louis Heren *is Washington Correspondent for* The London Times. Joseph A. Page *is Associate Professor at Georgetown University Law Center.*

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Many years ago a philosopher took note of the fact that "the best is the enemy of the good." There was never a better political demonstration of this than in the Humphrey-McCarthy race for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968, and the subsequent bitterness of the defeated McCarthyites.

The frustrations of the Vietnam war and Lyndon Johnson's dealing with it have created an intellectual frenzy which has reached the extreme of abdication, of hand-washing, of, in effect, offering to give the nation over not only to the hawks, who are deemed to possess it already, but to racist sowers of domestic discord on a vast scale.

Senator McCarthy's presidential campaign threatened, briefly, to revolutionize at least one political party overnight. But the realities of power – political power as it is exercised through continuing institutions – took hold at this point. McCarthy's polarization of the peace-or-war issue, which broke the national illusions supporting the President's popularity and power, could not make it against the institutions themselves. And this clash was inevitable from the moment Johnson took himself out of the line of fire. In fact, McCarthy's ploy, with its initial success, may have hurt his deeper objective, a swift peace in Vietnam. For not only has the final candidacy been presented to two hawks, but the lesser hawk – Hubert Humphrey – has been forced into the position of talking and behaving far more like a hawk than ever before. He now is burdened with Johnson's and his own overcommitment; although, being a man of far deeper imagination than LBJ, there remains a chance he will get round it – if elected. But the champions of the defeated Best are rallying like bitter bloodhounds to make sure the Good goes down and we get the Bad – Republican Richard Nixon. You deserve it, they say, because you didn't listen to Gene McCarthy and us.

The vital issues boil down to one – race. If neither Humphrey nor Nixon is to be trusted to settle the Vietnam war speedily, how do they stack up on this other issue? On the evidence, Mr. Nixon, with his acceptance of Strom Thurmond's sponsorship, his choice of a border state law-and-order man for Vice President, and the general rallying of the right behind him, is likely to precipitate a second war – a racial civil war – right here at home. His chances of preventing it hinge on a double-cross of the Thurmond Nixiecrats (difficult), a launching of large-scale programs in the teeth of his party's traditional fiscal conservatism (still more difficult), and winning the trust of the Negro community (most difficult of all). Mr. Humphrey, on the other hand, is committed, not only by his character and his record, but also by his current politicking. Boss-run or not, the Democratic Convention chalked up some basic breakthroughs – the preferring of an integrated Mississippi delegation to the pro-Wallace regulars, the compromise on Georgia which traded Lester Maddox for Julian Bond, the changing of the unit rule, and the general subsequent downgrading of rebel regulars from the South. Mr. Humphrey today is the black man's candidate, and if he loses it will be because the black man's white former friends did not support him. Their pique, in other words, proves greater than their principles, at least where Negroes are the only victims.

In these revolutionary times, when institutions are often being attacked merely for being institutions, we need to be reminded that they are institutions for a purpose – and not necessarily for the purpose of hoarding power either. It is hard enough to organize people to achieve anything; without institutions it is impossible. When our basic institutions are assailed, we quake not for our property but for our very lives, and for our future – for the simple assurance that tomorrow will come without any more necessary holocaust than the struggle for existence normally entails.

When Herbert Marcuse and less dis-

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tinguished apologists for anarchy encourage youth to organize mob energy to paralyze institutions, they also encourage them to do no planning themselves – lest they create new institutions, which are *per se* bad. If they have a program, the militant rebels are told, they may be tempted to discuss it with the Establishment, which will promise all or part of it to them. If they agree they are accepting the existing channels of power, and will be devoured.

We were just getting more people interested in poltics, which is the first step toward taking it from the hands of a clique; Senator McCarthy called out the young with an issue that did not need the glamor of a Kennedy; we emphasized the importance of getting Negroes and other poor minorities to register to vote – and now many of us are telling them the thing to do is not to vote at all! At a time, Southern blacks will notice, when Strom Thurmond bids fair to wield more national influence than ever before!

It is a monstrous distortion to allow oneself to be so hypnotized by one problem – Vietnam – a war no one has offered a convincing program for rolling up swiftly – that every other value, practice and issue must go by the board. Will Dick Gregory, Dr. Spock, Senator McCarthy, Paul O'Dwyer, Floyd McKissick, Ralph Abernathy stand aside while George Wallace, Strom Thurmond and Richard Nixon deal for the Presidency in an anteroom of the House of Representatives? There would be no Wallace deal with Hubert Humphrey.

The presidential election of 1968 may be one of the most important in our history. The voter is confronted with two candidates widely deemed equally bad. This is especially important to the better educated, who have, and generally exercise, a responsibility in guiding lesser men's choices. Thus their alienation affects all. They are largely alienated, just now, over the Vietnam war and the crushing of the bright hope Senator McCarthy held out to them. They are further frustrated by the hamfisted freeze-out they suffered at the convention, under the Johnson-Daley-Boggs mismanagement, further exacerbated by Daley's police overreaction to demonstrations in which they could not distinguish deliberate provocation from accidental.

Yet two issues tower over America today – Vietnam and racial justice. If the dissident yearner cannot have one, must he give up the other? If so, the black American has been sold out again – by his friends.

Robert Chantland
Binghamton, N.Y.

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Within the System

Sirs:

I was dismayed by the slant and concluding remarks by TRB in the Sept. 14 issue. In the end he observed that McCarthy, "like Henry A. Wallace before him, finds that some of his supporters have been using him not following him." This raises several questions: 1) Is there any political leader who is not used, in the sense that many of his supporters may not share all his opinions, though they may rally to the cause he symbolizes? 2) Is not the essence of public life, particularly as expressed in McCarthy's candidacy, the offering of oneself as a personification of certain key issues, thus offering the use of oneself to those citizens who wish to exercise some effective voice about them? 3) Is it relevant to compare or associate McCarthy's candidacy with Henry Wallace's, when their course and method of action were so different? Would it not be more accurate to compare McCarthy with any of the leaders within the two major parties who offered themselves within the two-party system, employing the regular processes, and subject to use by anyone who wished to identify with the goals that candidacy supported? 4) Is not the question more properly put in terms of active consent or encouragement by a candidate or spokesmen for positions in direct conflict with the candidate's pronounced public stand on the issues (e.g. Humphrey and the Southern bloc)?

As an observer of some of the events in Grant Park, on Michigan Avenue and at the Hilton, it was my impression that many of the young people who might be described as extremists considered McCarthy just another representative of the Establishment. McCarthy buttons did abound in the ranks of the marchers committed to a non-violent demonstration. While these two groups were separated by their leaders and by their own actions after the "legal" meeting at the band shell, they were treated as one by the police and National Guard and, sub-

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sequently, by political commentators such as TRB.

Another group, the McCarthy workers, was also undifferentiated by law enforcement officials. I heard Sam Brown address a student caucus at the Hilton just after the beginning of the Wednesday session of the convention; he reminded this large group of its commitment to McCarthy's insistence upon working within the system. He added that any who wished to join the protesters in Grant Park to express sympathy with their failure to be permitted to exercise their constitutional rights or to express disapproval of their earlier treatment by the police (as the five hundred delegates did in the predawn hours after that convention session) might do so as individuals, but not as representatives of this (McCarthy) movement. He said he was going, and when, twelve hours later, he addressed many of these same students in the same function room of the Hilton, he could only whisper because he had been so badly gassed.

What strikes me as important about Sam Brown and his student workers was their discipline and strength of commitment. One might also say they were "used" by those desiring a confrontation with the police, but I think they would firmly disagree. They knew what they were doing when they went to work for McCarthy; they knew what they were doing when they went out to join the marchers or, later, just to hand out wet rags to protesters and bystanders overcome by tear gas. And the five hundred delegates knew what they were doing when they participated in that candlelight procession. And Senator McCarthy, who had asked his supporters to stay away from Chicago for the safety and welfare of all, knew what he was doing when he crossed Michigan Avenue and the police lines to speak to the crowd on the other side, many of whom never believed in him as a candidate, many of whom had learned, through his candidacy, how it might be possible to work within a nearly bankrupt political system without compromising the political and personal principles that brought them there.

Betty Levin
Lincoln, Mass.

Quality of Survival

Sirs:

Many of your correspondents (Sept. 14 issue) have written in heartfelt terms to say that they cannot support Hubert Humphrey or the Democratic Party leadership that permitted the scandal and spectacle of Chicago. My quixotic impulses lead me to great appreciation and compassion for these idealistic views.

But, unfortunately for idealism, in this very real and hard-headed world, the choice of the "lesser of two evils" is a wholly reasonable, and often compelling strategy. The Republic will most certainly survive the next four years no matter who is President. The quality of that survival, however, will have much to do with its eventual life.

Some of these correspondents see a Nixon victory as an instrument of purification of the Democratic Party. But, if the Vice President and his party are defeated, will they know that it was because the supporters of libertarian policies are no longer their supporters? Or will they rather determine to cry "law and order" louder than the successful Republicans the next time? If Mr. Nixon is the victor will he realize that the Left has repudiated its old political identity and awaits plucking by new leadership? Or will he see a mandate to deliver on his promise of, in Tom Wicker's phrase, "a cop on every corner"? . . .

Before the next four years are over, no matter who is President, this immoral war must end. The Chief Executive will then have the duty of presiding over the redirection of some $27 billion of expenditure annually. The future of this country will depend on this vast sum remaining public, and being used to abolish poverty, rebuild the cities, assure high economic growth, promote equal opportunity for all in all spheres of life, and guarantee a minimum income.

I don't know that a President Humphrey will spend this money wisely, or try to do all these things. But I do know that a President Nixon will most certainly return this money to the private economy in tax reduction. It will then, perhaps, be forever lost. And so will we. This, I believe, is the compelling factor to be considered in the unhappy choice.

August Matzdorf
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Alaskan Disservice

Sirs:

The primary defeat of Alaska Senator Ernest Gruening on August 27 has received scarce notice, but it represents a tragic setback for the voices of peace in the Senate. Gruening and Morse alone voted against the Tonkin Bay Resolution, and they alone have voted

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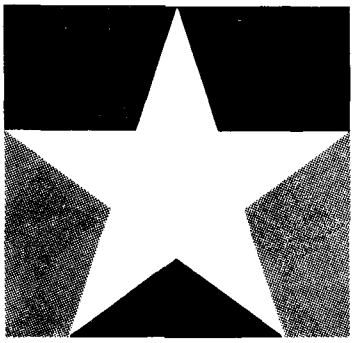

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against every appropriation in support of the Vietnam war. While others . . . *talk* peace, only these two *vote* peace. Let us not forget that Fulbright co-sponsored the Tonkin Resolution.

Gruening said over four years ago, "We were the nation that went halfway around the world to barge into a civil war between Vietnamese." In June 1966, he said, "In all American history, of which we have had so much reason to be proud, the United States has not committed so tragic an error. The consequences can only be disastrous." But, like the Old Testament prophets, Ernest Gruening has been rejected by his people at a time when so few dared to speak the truth. The people of Alaska have done a great disservice to the nation in rejecting this great man, whom I am confident will be remembered as one of our bravest senators. . . .

While I have been saddened at Gruening's defeat, I took some hope in a story in the *New York Times* of Sunday, September 15. The story reported that a drive is developing in Alaska to run a write-in campaign for Gruening, in opposition to his mediocre and stale adversary, Mike Gravel, and the Republican nominee. I would urge all who believe in Ernest Gruening to help make this write-in campaign a success, in the hope that he might in fact be returned to the Senate. (It is an unfortunate comparison to make, but Strom Thurmond was first elected to the Senate as a write-in candidate.) Without Gruening, the peace forces will be deeply undermined; only a massive show of support from all Americans and promises to Gruening of financial assistance, should he stage a write-in campaign can change this tragic situation. I urge all persons to contact him immediately.

W. Bruce Dean
Seekonk, Mass.

Bitter Sweets

Sirs:

Concerning the article by W. David Gardner entitled "Bitter News About Sweeteners" (Sept. 14): the findings as reported from the three-month study of prisoners at Dannemora seem believable enough, but the inferences drawn from the findings are unwarranted.

The laboratory finding of an elevated protein-bound iodine, if it is produced as an artifact by a drug, is at the worst a nuisance to any physician who has his eyes and ears normally open. Precisely this change is produced by oral contraceptives now taken by millions of women. This is now so familiar to physicians in general that I doubt that treatment for hyperthyroidism would be advised on this basis alone, if the symptoms and appearance of the patient did not fit the diagnosis.

There may be some objections to the artificial sweeteners, but it is unfair to indicate that the evidence presented in this article in any way justifies the implication that they are "potentially dangerous."

Frederick C. Goetz, M.D.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Kauffmann, *from page 18*

the defects of its virtues. The US has suffered for years from imitations of Hemingway and Faulkner; Nemec's film is painfully bad Kafka. (And the literary comparison is right: this picture smells of pen and ink.) Many of the performers are, reportedly, well-known Czech intellectuals and artists, and possibly, with various shocks of recognition, the film conveys to Czech audiences more substance than it does to us. Enough, at least, so that it was banned for a year.

The story, all figurative, all in gray skies and Bergmanesque woods, deals with seven picnickers, quite formally dressed, who are abducted by a gang of men. First, the seven are brusquely treated, then they are warmly welcomed by the gang's chief, a bearded man who looks like a composite of Ulbricht and Lenin. The chief invites them all to a huge birthday party for him, *al fresco* but formally set and served. These and subsequent events reveal different facets in the characters of the original seven, their host, and his henchmen.

Unlike Kafka, there is very little large-scale resonance in the symbolism, so I kept asking myself for small-scale literal translations. Does this incident represent the growth of liberalist communism? Does this quarrel represent Bohemian-Slovak antagonisms that antedate Marx? And so on. In short, the film works *against* the real point of symbolism, it makes the viewer overly factual. Part of this may be because many of the references are not in American knowledge. (Not our fault, surely. How much does Kafka suffer here?) But I think Nemec indulges in his own way in Menzel's laziness, trading on acceptance. Nemec trades on Art. If a film is symbolic, if it has this sort of lighting, it must be Art, it must have meaning. And there's a buried, quasi-apologetic egotism: especially if it's a symbolic *film,* it must be good because special courage is needed to make a film this way. There are symbolic novels aplenty; but to spend all that money and time on a symbolic *film!* Isn't that exceptionally admirable?

No. Not when the result is more pomp than point.

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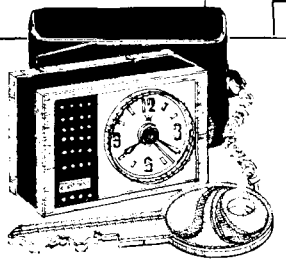

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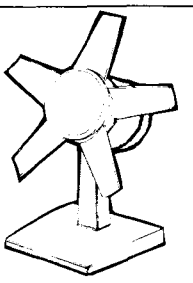

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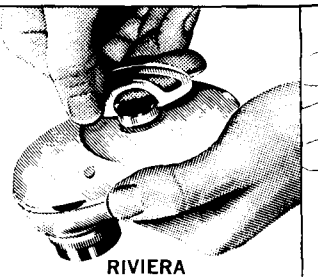

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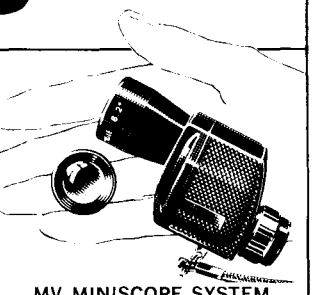

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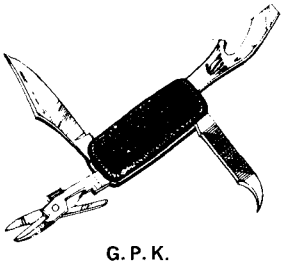

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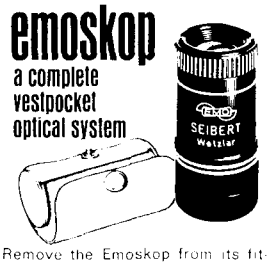

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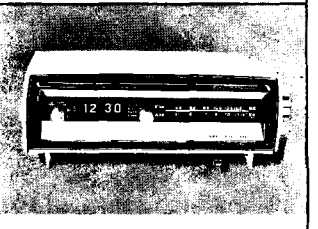

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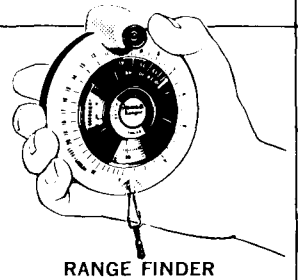

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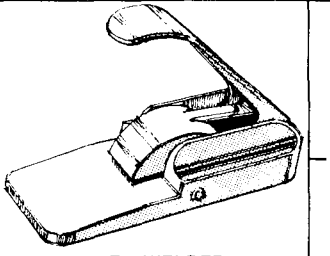

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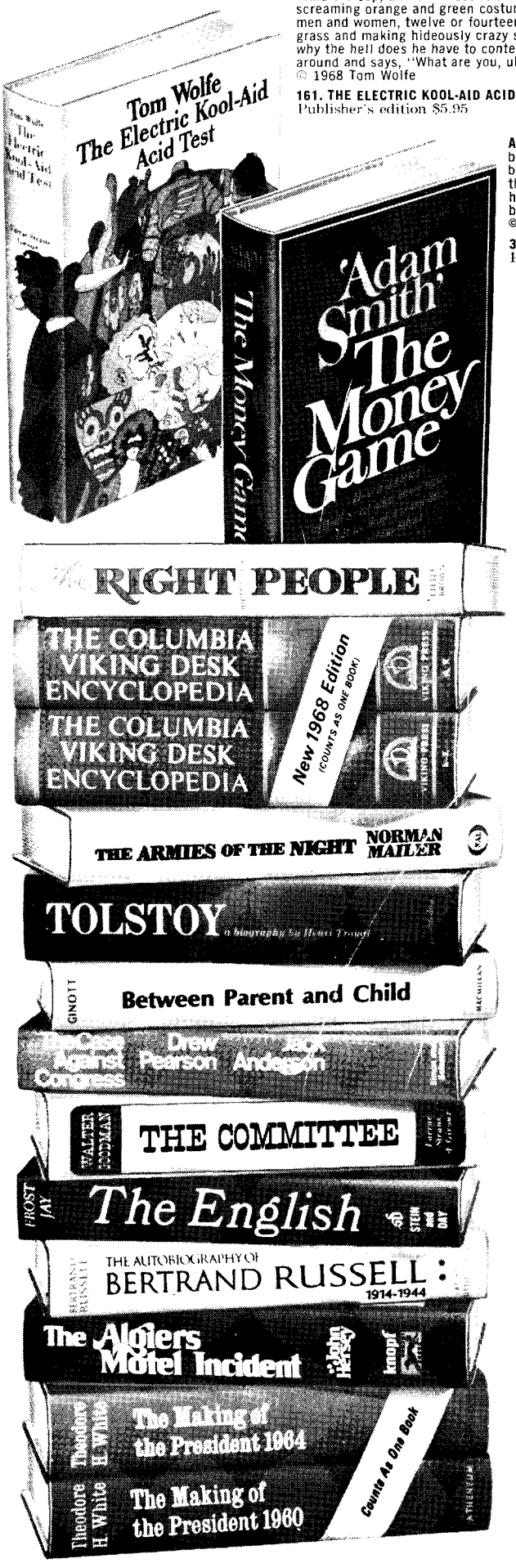

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